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The London School of Economics and Political Science
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No. 2

*In Series of Reprints
of Scarce Tracts in Economic and Political Science*

A LECTURE ON HUMAN HAPPINESS

by **JOHN GRAY**

A LECTURE
ON
HUMAN HAPPINESS;

Being the first of a Series of Lectures on that Subject.

IN WHICH WILL BE COMPREHENDED
A GENERAL REVIEW
OF THE CAUSES OF THE EXISTING EVILS OF SOCIETY,
AND
A DEVELOPEMENT OF MEANS
BY WHICH
THEY MAY BE PERMANENTLY
AND EFFECTUALLY REMOVED.

BY JOHN GRAY.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED
The Articles of Agreement
DRAWN UP AND RECOMMENDED BY
THE LONDON CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY,
FOR THE
FORMATION OF A COMMUNITY ON PRINCIPLES
OF
Mutual Co-Operation,
WITHIN FIFTY MILES OF LONDON.

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DEDICATED
TO THOSE
WHO CAN DISTINGUISH
TRUTH AND JUSTICE
FROM
RECEIVED OPINION
AND
ESTABLISHED CUSTOM:
*AND ARE WILLING TO ASSIST IN THE ESTAB-
LISHMENT OF SUCH PRINCIPLES AS
EXPERIENCE MAY PROVE TO BE
BEST CALCULATED
TO ADVANCE THE CHARACTER
AND
IMPROVE THE CONDITION
OF THE
WHOLE HUMAN RACE*

PREFACE.

THE following pages form the first of a series of Lectures, which will be published at intervals, of about two months between each.

The subjects intended to be therein embraced, will perhaps be exhibited in a point of view but little according with the notions implanted in the present generation by early education. To all, therefore, who have not formed a judgment of things *contrary* to the first impressions of youth, our ideas will, perhaps, at first sight, appear to be erroneous; the question that remains to be decided is—"ARE THEY SO IN FACT?"

The points on which we differ are chiefly these:—In the old world men are respected in proportion as they are enabled by the possession of wealth to command the labour of others; and so essentially necessary are indolence and uselessness to *respectability*, that men are *despised* in proportion as they apply their own hands to purposes of utility.

In the new, we hope to secure to all men the value of their services to society in whatever way they may be given; to respect men in proportion to their *utility* in promoting in any shape or way, the happiness of our species; and to attach value, not to pieces of metal, but to *every thing* which tends to improve the condition of the human race, physically, morally, or intellectually.

Persons wishing the following numbers of this work, in which will be fully explained, the principles and plans, which, in the author's opinion are best calculated to render mankind happy, are requested to send their orders to the Publishers.

INTRODUCTION.

IF the power by which we exist has implanted in man a desire to associate himself with others of his own species, which is evidently the case, *society* is the natural condition of mankind. If then societies produce the most overwhelming evils, and give to man the power of exercising over man every description of oppression and cruelty, it is certain, either that God has created man for wretchedness; or, that man has yet to learn the principles, on which societies must be founded to render him happy.

If men had never entered into a state of society, their condition would be scarcely, in any degree, removed from that of other animals. Their whole occupation would consist in supplying the first calls of nature: and, as each individual could possess only what was attained by his own industry, how ill would he be supplied, even with the absolute necessities of life! The mere congregating of men would, however, do nothing towards ameliorating their condition, if each still acted for himself alone: but *the propensity to exchange labour for labour*, a propensity peculiar to man, is the original principle, by which he is enabled to leave, at such an immeasurable distance below him, all the brute creation.

Why then do we so frequently attribute our miseries to the defects of governments, since it is exclusively by barter, that the power, by which individuals are enabled to tyrannize over nations, is introduced into the world? And here let the man, who desires to benefit his fellow-creatures, pause and reflect. Let him impress strongly upon his mind this fact, that barter, *and barter alone*,

is the basis of society: and that *all other institutions amongst men* are built wholly and solely upon it. Let him first impress upon his mind this fact and its importance; and, if he can so far divest himself of prejudice, as to forget, for a while, his former conclusions upon the subject of the causes of human evils, and will patiently and deliberately analyze the present system of commerce, he will find *in it* the causes of some of the most dreadful calamities to which human nature is subject.

It is in vain that the benevolent attempt to improve the condition of their fellow-creatures by perpetually striking at effects. It is to causes that attention must be devoted before any permanent good can be done in society. But our plans are chiefly formed to meet troubles half way. By an endless variety of charitable institutions, monuments equally of benevolence and ignorance, we attempt to subdue the evils of society; but the attempt is vain. Let societies be formed for the purpose of *annihilating the causes*, whence the evils of mankind arise,—societies, not to relieve the miserable, but to abolish the causes of misery; not to assist the poor with money, but to abolish the causes of poverty; not to detect thieves, but to take away the multitude of temptations to steal; societies having for their avowed purpose an equal distribution of the means of happiness to all, and the combining of all mankind in unity, peace, and concord. Only *give birth to* societies founded on this principle; they will ask for no continued support: but their effects shall be such, that, in a few short years, the books of every charitable institution, of whatever kind and for whatever purpose, will be closed for ever.

The author of nature, by whatever name we call him, has given to every thing, which his power has produced, its peculiar properties; by a knowledge of, and attention to which, alone, have we the power of bringing any thing to perfection or to the approach of it. To the vegetable world he has given its peculiar properties; and, in the cultivation of it, we attend to the diversities of each particular plant; and, as far as our knowledge and ability enable us to do so, we furnish it with the particular soil, situation and temperature, that it requires: knowing that to attempt to make *it* accommodate itself to *any* soil, situation, or

temperature which we choose to give it, would be in vain. And to man he has given his peculiarities, his natural rights, and his propensities to enjoy them: and, if we would bring him to the degree of perfection of which his nature is capable, or to the approach of it, we must accommodate human institutions to *his* nature; for the experience of all ages has most satisfactorily proved, that we cannot, without destroying his happiness, make his nature bend to *any* institutions, which we think proper to give him. It is the attempt to do this, it is the attempt to make his nature submit to laws, institutions, and customs, which are altogether opposed to it, which is the chief, if not the sole, cause of the miseries by which he is surrounded: and fruitless will be every attempt to render him happy, until all these have undergone an entire change.

We are fully aware that those, who take upon themselves the defence of Mr. OWEN's plans, are looked upon, by the unthinking part of the community, as mere enthusiasts: Mr. OWEN being, in their estimation, a visionary, if not actually a madman. We will endeavour to explain why such opinions have been formed of him, by offering a few remarks on the nature of credibility.

No two things, perhaps, are more distinct from each other, than to be *credible*, and to be *credited*. The former depends upon the actual *practicability* of a thing; the latter upon our *knowledge of its principles*.

That only is altogether incredible, which it is totally impossible to account for on any known principle. For example, if it had been said, that St. Paul's Church would remove, of its own accord, to another situation in the course of next year, this would be altogether incredible, because no one could form any conception of any power existing in it, which could produce such an effect; without which it is quite impossible the voluntary removal could take place.

But things become more credible, in proportion as the difficulty of accounting for them decreases.

For example; if a man were to tell us, that he had made a discovery, by which he could travel in air, with as much facility as on water, we should not be inclined to treat his assertion in the

saine manner as in the former case ; because we know of a power by which the first step towards doing this may be effected. But not knowing by what means we can proceed in any other direction than that of the wind, we should by no means yield our perfect credence to his assertion, unless some newly invented power could be demonstrated by which we might be enabled to steer in any direction we pleased.

But that is perfectly credible, which may easily be traced to some known power, which, if called into action, is calculated to produce it. Take for example the following assertion, which we make unhesitatingly, knowing that we can prove its truth to demonstration. " Every member of the British community, capable of working, may be enabled to surround himself with every comfort of life." Now here we know of a power by which we are able to *produce* the comforts of life in a *sufficient quantity*, nay in quantities four-fold sufficient, to supply the wants of every member of the community. We know that all men would be *glad to obtain* these comforts if they could. We know the cause by which the mass of mankind has hitherto been prevented from obtaining them, which will be fully explained in the course of these lectures, and we know by what means that cause may be removed. We have the **DESIRE** for wealth : we have the **POWER** to create it : and the **KNOWLEDGE** of various plans by which it may be so **DISTRIBUTED** as to produce the asserted effects.

But still it is undeniable that it **IS** discredited ; and it would be strange indeed if it were not ; for we are much within bounds when we say, that ninety-nine persons out of every hundred form their judgments of things, not by the rules of credibility which we have just explained, nor by any other rules, founded in rationality, but by *precedent* ; and where is the precedent for *universal equality of wealth and the means of happiness* ?

When we hear of any thing new, and quite unexpected, the first emotion of our minds is that of *surprise* ; and the *greatness* of that surprise, is always in exact proportion to the *greatness of the difference* between the thing heard of, and any thing before existing, before heard of, or expected. But, when our astonishment has a little subsided, the first inquiry

is, "How is it done?" or, if it is only a thing proposed, "How is it to be done?" And if it is made plain to us that the cause is equal to the effect, we believe it; if otherwise, we believe it not. If then, what we have stated be true, (and we fear no refutation,) it is evident that if any effect is proposed to be produced, differing wholly from any effect ever before produced, it is necessary that we *understand the power* by which it is proposed to produce it, before it can be credible to us. It would be strange, indeed, then, if Mr. OWEN's plans were at present popular; for, unless in actual practice, to be generally approved of they must be generally understood. At the present moment there is not one man in one thousand who understands the *present system* in which he has been born and educated; we question whether there is one in ten thousand who understands Mr. OWEN's: and yet we find numbers of men, who have not given the subject a month's consideration, unhesitatingly condemn it as visionary and absurd;—the sole reason of which is, that men in general are guided by precedents, in the absence of which, things are immediately discredited. Suppose a balloon had never been heard of or thought of, and some one were to say, that he could rise in a vehicle lighter than the air to an altitude far above the clouds, he would be told that he was mad. And though his arguments in support of his opinion might be almost conclusive in his favour, he would not, except from a very few, obtain a more favourable hearing.

If this be true, how much more rational it would be for men, when they are told that new effects may be produced by new combinations, instead of confounding their judgments by *looking at the difference* between the thing proposed and things as they are, to say, "by what power do you propose to do this?" and then to decide exclusively by the result of the inquiry, whether the cause be equal to the effect. This is the only rational mode of forming a judgment of any thing: and this mode the mass of mankind never give themselves the trouble to adopt: for which reason it is that public opinion is seldom right upon any subject that is new: and for which reason alone it is that Mr. OWEN is

denominated a visionary by those, who are either too idle to examine his plans, or too feeble minded to comprehend them.

In entering upon an investigation of the science of human happiness, it may perhaps be advantageous, previous to the consideration of the subject in detail, to inquire, briefly, into the nature of it. Nothing, indeed, can be of more importance than this; for if we have not a clear idea of the object we are in pursuit of, how shall we be enabled to judge of the means by which we propose to attain it? Let us then endeavour to establish in our minds some criterion by which we may be enabled to judge of the pursuits of men.

We do not attach the idea of happiness to inanimate substances, because they have no sensibility: they are equally incapable of receiving both pleasure and pain. They cannot suffer, neither can they enjoy, because they cannot feel. *Sensibility*, therefore, is the medium both of happiness and misery; the former consists in agreeable, the latter in disagreeable impressions being made upon us through this medium: and the *degree* of happiness we are capable of enjoying, must be limited by the *strength and number* of the agreeable impressions, which our nature is capable of receiving.

Imagine any being, distinguished from the vegetable world by the possession of a single sense, that of smelling for example; and that the impressions made upon it by externals were similar to those made on the same sense in human beings, it is obvious that the happiness of such a being would consist in the agreeable exercise of this one organ: but its happiness must be of a very limited nature: it would bear no comparison with that of a being which possessed the sense of hearing in addition to that of smelling, because the latter would be capable of receiving an increased number of agreeable impressions, and consequently a proportionably increased degree of happiness.

Add the remaining senses, do you not add with each the capacity of receiving a thousand agreeable impressions, of which the being we before supposed could not have the least conception!

It is plain then, that happiness consists in the reception of

agreeable impressions, and that the extent of it must be limited by the strength and number of them which our nature is capable of receiving.

And for this reason it is, that a mind cultivated and enlarged by intellectual pursuits, and softened by those of friendship and affection, is capable of far more exalted pleasure and satisfaction, than the mere sensualist, whose enjoyment is confined to mere animal gratifications.

But, as the senses themselves are passive, and have no power whatever over the circumstances which impress them, it is necessary that we inquire into the nature of those which are conducive to happiness.

Every man brings a peculiar nature into the world with him, which differs in different men, not in the kind of its component parts, but in their degree of strength. It is this which forms the *natural* differences in our dispositions and inclinations; and the question which we have here proposed to decide, is, in what manner must we so controul those dispositions and inclinations, as to produce happiness; or in other words, to bring upon ourselves the greatest number of agreeable and the least number of disagreeable impressions?

We reply, by indulging only such of them as are consistent with each other; by preserving and if possible increasing the strength of those which are consistent with each other; and by eradicating all those which, if indulged, would in any way produce pain.

If men would only give themselves the trouble habitually to bear in mind, that that only is right, which in its ultimate consequences is productive of good; and that only wrong, which is productive of evil; and that good and evil are only distinguishable by the former promoting and the latter injuring the happiness of our species, they would continually carry within them a rule for every action of their lives.

Evil almost invariably arises from an unrestrained indulgence of some disposition, which is in itself innocent; and it is the remembrance of the pleasure which the moderate indulgence of it has afforded us, which tempts to the commission of excess.

Drunkenness is wrong, because it is inconsistent with the health

of the body, and the right use of the mental faculties. Dishonesty is wrong, because it is inconsistent with the security of those means of enjoyment which collectively are called wealth.

But it is impossible that any great degree of happiness can arise to us from the consistent use of our faculties, unless our dispositions be sufficiently strong to afford pleasure in the gratification of them. Satiety, therefore, ought in all things to be avoided. We cannot enjoy our food if we eat so frequently as never to know what hunger is : and if we would enjoy any thing, we ought carefully to avoid the like satiety.

That it is necessary to happiness to eradicate all dispositions, which if indulged would in any way produce pain, is too obvious to require an argument. It is certain that to have desires and to deny ourselves the gratification of them, must be painful to us.

But we frequently hear it observed, that happiness consists rather in the pursuit than in the possession of any object. The truth is, that as society is now constituted, man is trained to be any thing but a rational being. He has never yet been taught to understand his own nature, and to act consistently with it : he has never yet been taught to seek for happiness where it is to be found : his faculties are uniformly misdirected, and the consequence is, that he exhausts his energies in the pursuit of that, which, if he had only consulted his reason for a moment, he would have seen could afford him no real satisfaction when possessed.

Look at our public seminaries, and say if in general there be a single rational direction given to the human faculties in any of them ! Is not the juvenile mind continually led to the contemplation of war and bloodshed ? Thousands from this cause alone are led to embrace a military life : ambition is generated in the human breast, and man is led to seek for happiness in the destruction of his fellow-men ! and having spent the vigour of his life in this career, he at length exclaims, " it is all vanity and vexation of spirit !"

But the greater portion are led to seek for happiness in the pursuit of wealth ; and never having been trained to make a right use of it, it commonly happens that they convert it to the destruction of their own peace.

But the opinion that happiness consists rather in the pursuit than in the possession of an object, is founded in error. Which of us, when overtaken with hunger or thirst, ever found more pleasure in the pursuit than in the enjoyment of food? Which of us, if by chance exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, drenched with rain, or frozen with cold, ever experienced more pleasure in the search of a fireside than in the enjoyment of it? or which of us ever yet sought for pleasure in the performance of a kind action, and was disappointed?

Away then with the erroneous notion, that happiness exists only in idea. Let us in future seek it where reason tells us it may be found. Let us endeavour to place a right estimate on things, and no longer amuse our minds with the pursuit of bubbles which burst and disappoint us.

Since then happiness, the end and object of every human pursuit, cannot be obtained until our natural wants are satisfied, we will next inquire into the nature of them.

The desires, or wants, of man, are of two distinct kinds. 1st Those which belong to him as an animal. 2d. Those which belong to him as an intellectual being. And these may be further divided into two other kinds. 1st. Those which are born with him, and are inseparable from his nature. 2d. Those which he acquires from education, habit, example, or the influences of surrounding circumstances; and of these it is greatly important that he acquire such only, as are consistent with those implanted in him by nature. Of the latter kind we shall say nothing, because they cannot be defined, in consequence of their depending solely upon the nature of the circumstances which surround us. But of the former it is plain, that man requires, as an animal, food, clothing, and habitation; that his circumstances enable him to provide for his family, if he have one; that he be enabled to do this with moderate efforts, and without the slightest fear of those efforts ever failing to accomplish the desired object. Bodily health and strength are also essential to happiness, which are incompatible with immoderate labour, and great mental anxiety. The intellectual desires of man are all comprehended in

the desire of knowledge. Nature has given this to all, but before we can become intellectually happy, it is necessary that the seeds of intellect, or our desire of knowledge, be cultivated, otherwise it will lie dormant, and be of little use. The great object of human pursuits is to supply these wants. Let us then inquire how far the present pursuits of men are calculated to supply them; for if they be already supplied in a reasonable and proper manner, what necessity can there be for the new order of things proposed by Mr. OWEN?

First then, we beg leave to solicit your attention to the existing *Commercial arrangements of Society*; the great object of which is to supply mankind with food, clothing, and habitation.

A GENERAL VIEW OF SOCIETY.

Every necessary, convenience, and comfort of life, is obtained by human labour. 1st. By labour in *cultivating* the earth itself. 2d. By labour in *preparing, making fit, and appropriating* the produce of the earth to the uses of life. 3d. By labour in *distributing* the produce of both the former kinds of labour. These are the three grand occupations of life; to which may be added three others. The *government* or protection of society; the office of *amusing and instructing* mankind; and the *medical profession*. Every member of the community, who is not engaged in one of the two former classes of occupation is an **UNPRODUCTIVE** member of society. Every unproductive member of society is a **DIRECT TAX** upon the productive classes. Every unproductive member of society is also an **USELESS** member of society, unless he gives an **EQUIVALENT** for that which he consumes.

These are truths so plain and so important, that they must be assented to by every rational mind, which considers them but for a moment. How then can we better judge of the pursuits of men, than by bringing them to the test of these truths?

We now solicit your earnest attention to a general view of society, being the whole population of the country in 1812. For information on this subject we are indebted to a very valuable and copious statistical work, published in 1814 by Colquhoun, on the *Wealth and Resources of the British Empire*. It is not, of course, to be supposed, that Colquhoun's statements are entirely free from error; but it is the *principles* on which we are acting which we wish to exhibit: and if our quotations from his work be incorrect by many millions, still they will be quite near enough to show the nature of the present system.

A GENERAL VIEW OF SOCIETY;

Being the whole Population of Great Britain and Ireland, in the Year 1812; with the respective Incomes of each Class of the Community; distinguishing the probable Number of Persons who are not only unproductive, but
USELESS MEMBERS OF SOCIETY.

RANKS, DEGREES, AND DESCRIPTIONS.		Reference.	Estimated Population	Aggregate Income of each Class of the Community in Great Britain and Ireland.	Ann. Income of each Man, Woman, and Child in each Class, including Servants.	Probable Number of the useless Members of Society.	Incomes of the Useless Classes.
ROYALTY:		1	50	£ 146,000	£ 2,920	—	£ —
The King, Queen, and Princesses of their Family		2	40	172,000	3,440	—	—
The Prince Regent, the Princess of Wales, and Princess Charlotte		3	200	183,000	915	—	—
The remaining Princes and Princesses of the Blood							
NOBILITY:		4	12,900	5,160,000	400	12,900	5,160,000
Temporal Peers, including Peeresses in their own right		5	720	240,480	334	720	240,480
GENTRY:		6	12,915	3,022,110	234	12,915	3,022,110
Baronets		7	110,000	22,000,000	200	110,000	22,000,000
Knights and Esquires		8	280,000	28,000,000	100	280,000	28,000,000
Gentlemen and Ladies living on incomes							
STATE AND REVENUE:		9	24,500	3,430,000	140	12,250	1,715,000
Persons in higher Civil Offices		10	90,000	5,400,000	60	45,000	2,700,000
Persons in lesser Civil Offices							
ARMY:							
Military Officers, including Surgeons and Quarter Masters, Pay-Masters, Engineer and Artillery Officers, Recruiting Staff-Officers, &c.		11	40,000	4,200,000	40	20,000	2,100,000

A GENERAL VIEW OF SOCIETY, &c.—continued.

RANKS, DEGREES, AND DESCRIPTIONS.

	Number for Reference.	Estimated Population	Aggregate Income of each Class of the Community in Great Britain and Ireland.	Ann. Income of each Man, Woman, and Child in each Class, including Servants.	Probable Number of the useless Members of Society.	Incomes of the Useless Classes.
FOREIGN COMMERCE, SHIPPING, MANUFACTURES, AND TRADE:			£	£		£
Eminent Merchants, Bankers, &c. Brought forward	27	7,908,477	219,186,665	280	2,675,285	129,717,430
Lesser Merchants, trading by Sea, including Brokers	28	35,100	9,100,000	280	26,250	6,825,000
Persons employing professional Skill and Capital, as Engineers, Surveyors, Master Builders of Houses, &c.	29	159,600	18,334,000	112	119,700	13,765,500
Persons employing Capital in building and repairing Ships, Craft, &c.	30	43,500	2,610,000	60	32,625	1,957,500
Ship Owners, letting Ships for freight only	31	3,000	402,000	134	1,500	201,000
Aquatic Labourers in the Merchants' Service, Fisheries, Rivers, Canals, &c.	32	43,750	5,250,000	120	43,750	5,250,000
Manufacturers employing Capital in all Branches, as Cotton, Wool, Flax, Hemp, Leather, Glass, Pottery, Gold, Silver, Tin, Copper, Iron, Steel, and other Metals, Silk, Paper, Books, Gunpowder, Painters' Colours, dyed Stuffs, &c. Beer, Porter, distilled Liquors, Sweets, Candles, Soap, Tobacco, Snuff, &c.	33	284,000	35,376,000	134	176,000	23,584,000
Principal Warehousemen, selling by wholesale	34	5,400	723,600	134	2,700	361,800
Shopkeepers and Tradesmen, retailing Goods	35	700,000	28,000,000	40	466,666	18,066,666
Persons employing Capital, as Tailors, Mantua Makers, Milliners, &c. in the manufacture of stuffs into wearing apparel	36	218,750	7,875,000	36	—	—
Clerks & Shopmen to Merchants, Manufacturers, Shopkeepers, &c.	37	262,500	6,750,000	14	131,250	3,375,000
Innkeepers and Publicans, licensed to sell Ale, Beer, &c.	38	437,500	8,750,000	14	268,750	4,375,000
Umbrella and Parasol Makers, Silk Lace Workers, Embroiderers, Domestic Spinners, Clearstarchers, &c.	39	150,000	3,500,000	12	—	—

Artisans, Handicrafts, Mechanics, and Labourers, employed in Manufactures, Buildings, and Works of every kind - Hawkers, Pedlars, Dufflers, and others, with and without licenses	40	4,343,380	49,054,752	11	-	-
	41	5,600	63,000	11	5,600	63,000
UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS FOR THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH:						
Persons educating Youth in Universities and Chief Schools -	42	3,496	524,400	150	-	-
Persons engaged in the education of Youth of both Sexes, and generally employing Capital in this pursuit -	43	210,000	7,140,000	34	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS:— Clergymen regularly ordained, dissenting from the Established Church, including Itinerant Preachers -	44	20,000	500,000	25	-	-
Persons employed in Theatrical Pursuits, and attached to Theatres and Concerts, as Musicians, &c. -	45	3,500	175,000	50	-	-
Persons keeping Houses for Lunatics -	46	700	35,000	50	-	-
Lunatics and others under mental derangement -	47	4,000	160,000	40	-	-
Persons confined in Prison for Debt -	48	17,500	105,000	6	17,500	105,000
Vagrants, Gipsies, Rogues, Vagabonds, Thieves, Swindlers, Coiners of Base Money, in and out of Prisons, and Common Prostitutes, including wives and Children -	49	308,741	3,704,892	12	308,741	3,704,892
Persons included in the various Families above-mentioned, who have Incomes from the Funds and other sources, including also Trustees for Orphans, Minors, and Charitable Foundations and Institutions (about) -	50	-	5,211,053	-	-	-
PAUPERS:— Paupers producing from their own Labour in Miscellaneous Employments -	51	1,548,400	3,871,000	6	1,161,600	6,000,000
And receiving from Parochial Rates (about) -		-	6,000,000			
TOTAL						
		17,096,803	430,521,372	-	5,437,917	217,951,788
Souls in Gr. Britain and Ireland, including the Army and Navy, 1812.				Total Income of the Population of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1812.		
Total Income of the Population of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1812.				Total Number of the Useless Classes, in 1812.		
Total Income of the Population of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1812.				Total Incomes of the Useless Classes, in 1812.		

From this estimate it appears, that the united incomes of all classes of the community amounted in the year 1812, to £430,521,372. We will next inquire by what portion of the community this immense property was created; and by annexing the incomes of the producers, we shall be furnished with a tolerably clear view of the principles on which we are now acting.

PRODUCTIVE CLASSES.

No.	Number of Individuals.	Aggregate incomes.	Averaged incomes of the whole.
26	3,154,142	33,396,795	} £11
32	400,000	8,100,000	
40	4,343,389	49,054,752	
	7,897,531	90,551,547	

The above constitute the whole of the productive-classes; and, consequently, by their labour was produced the whole income of the country, amounting to - - - - - £430,521,372

Except that produced by paupers and pensioners, amounting to - - - - - 4,291,000

Deduct which leaves - - - - - £426,230,372

being very nearly *fifty-four pounds a year* for each man, woman, and child, in the productive classes; of which they received about *eleven pounds*: being but a small trifle more than ONE-FIFTH PART OF THE PRODUCE OF THEIR OWN LABOUR!!!

But to the sum they did receive, viz. - - £90,551,547

Add the probable sum of money, which is paid to the useless classes, which might, with facility, be saved in future, *if it were at all necessary*, which we shall presently show is not the case, - - 217,951,788

and it amounts to - - - - - £308,503,335

being very nearly forty pounds a year for each man, woman, and child: an income amply sufficient to furnish an abundant supply of every necessary, convenience, and comfort of life; and about

* Referring to the foregoing Table.

double that of the master farmers in 1812. And let it be particularly remembered, that in this estimate, *upwards of one quarter* of the annual produce of the labour of the country is allowed to pay the expences of government, direction, superintendence, and distribution. Can any rational man possibly suppose that portion to be insufficient?*

It may be as well here to assure those, who think with Mr. Colquhoun, that "Poverty is the source of wealth, and that without it, there could be no riches, no refinement, no comfort," that his argument on that subject will be most satisfactorily answered in the course of these lectures.

In the present estimate, however, we have not calculated upon any increase in the produce of the country, our sole object being

* The chief object of the foregoing table is to show how the produce of the country is now distributed. There is a much greater difference in the incomes of the different classes, than is there seen at first sight; owing to the difference in the number of persons in the families of each class.

For example; it appears that the income of each individual in the productive classes was £11, in the year 1812; and the income of each individual in the Royal Family, only £2,920. In the former instance, however, the average number of persons in each family may be about four and a quarter, in the latter about fifty; the domestics being included. Consequently, in the former instance an income of about £47 may be at the disposal of the head of the family: in the latter instance an income of about £146,000. In this case one income is about three hundred times as large as the other. But there is much less difference in this respect when we leave the higher classes. The averaged number of persons in each family is estimated among the Nobility at 25; among the Bishops and Baronets at about 15; among Knights and Esquires at about 10; and after this it appears to vary from about 4 to 6.

Nothing perhaps can be more difficult than to ascertain the actual proportion which the labouring classes receive of the produce of their hands. It is highly probable that we are giving the present system far more credit for its lenity than it really deserves, when we accuse it of depriving the useful of society of only four-fifths of the produce of their labour. By some it has been estimated, that they receive only a twenty-fourth, by others, a fifteenth part; at all events, it is very certain, that we are much within bounds in estimating it at one-fifth. But as our chief object is to explain the *principles* of the present system, we are quite content to stand upon ground the least advantageous; and we prefer it to any other because it will enable us to lay before our readers such estimates, in support of our opinions, as we think are calculated to carry conviction to the mind of every rational man, who will take the trouble to examine them.

to show how the wealth now created is distributed ; consequently it would appear that the supposed increase in the incomes of the productive classes, must create an equal decrease in those of others ; but this is not the case. By the proposed new arrangements, the circumstances which limit production would be entirely abolished ; and in consequence, every thing deserving the name of wealth would instantly become accessible to all. The circumstance to which we allude will be fully explained in the present lecture.

We shall now briefly notice each class of the community separately ; and shall state our reasons for denominating 5,437,917 individuals, that is about one-third of the population, useless members of society. It is particularly desirable, however, that judgment be suspended, as to the correctness of this decision, until the whole subject be explained ; when it will be seen that the question rests *exclusively* upon this point : " Whether or not one-quarter of the annual produce of the country be sufficient to pay the *necessary* expenses of Government, direction, superintendence, and distribution.

Nos. 1, 2, and 3. The King, and others of the Royal Family. Kings are unproductive members of society. We rank them amongst the useful classes ; but we leave it for others to say in what manner they give an equivalent for that which they consume.

Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8. Nobility, Gentry, Knights, Esquires, Ladies, and Gentlemen. All these are unproductive members of society ; and as they give no equivalent whatever for that which they consume, we cannot number them amongst the useful classes. But let no one attach blame, or feel the slightest hostility towards these persons. It is not the men, but the system which we condemn ; and this we do wish to exhibit in its true colours. It has been the misfortune, not the fault, of the higher classes, to be born under an unjust system ; and to be educated to follow it ; and by far the greater part of them are ignorant of the basis on which they stand.

Nos. 9 and 10. State and Revenue : persons in civil offices various. All these are unproductive members of society, and the

greater part of them are not useful ; for, in addition to thousands who are paid for doing nothing, thousands more are paid for doing worse than nothing, viz. for preventing mankind from enjoying advantages, which are naturally within their reach; to which class belong all persons connected with prohibitory restrictions. Add to them many thousands more whose occupations arise solely out of the present faulty system of commerce. We have been moderate, however, and have put down one half of the persons in civil offices various, under the head of useful members of society.

Nos. 11 and 12. Army. The very name soldier is a disgrace to human nature. It is a name which will be contemporaneous with the division of interest in the employment of capital ; and it is a name which will one day be forgotten. The honour which is attached to the profession is fallacious. It is right to *defend* ourselves, even at the risk of our lives ; but there can be no honour where there is no honesty ; and where, we ask, is the honesty of invading the rights of others ? And this must be done before they can be defended. Men are apt to say, " What so honourable as to defend our country ? " They do not say, " What so honourable as to invade the rights of the peaceful, and to carry misery and destruction amongst our fellow creatures ? " As we wish our estimate to be moderate, we put down one half of the military amongst the useful classes : although, by the new arrangements, an army and navy of the whole population would be at all times ready to defend their country, if necessary, while every soldier would, in times of peace, maintain himself.

Nos. 13 and 14. Navy. For the foregoing reasons we put down one half of these amongst the useful.

No. 15. Half-pay, &c. Amongst this class it appears that there are many superannuated, and some widows and children of officers. It is hard to estimate what number of them might be brought into useful employments. We shall, therefore, not calculate upon any reduction.

Nos. 16 and 17. Chelsea, Chatham, and other pensioners. We pass these as the half-pay list, for the same reasons.

No. 18. Eminent Clergymen. It appears that the number

of Clergymen in the country, with their families and domestics, amounts to 116 thousands. On the subject of religion we shall say nothing here, but it will not pass unnoticed in another place.

No. 19. Lesser Clergymen. These are the men who do the work of the church.

No. 20. Law: Judges, Barristers, Attorneys, Clerks, &c. We trust that this class, without a single exception, will ultimately be superseded. We know very well that this will appear impossible to those who have been born and educated under the present system of irrationality, and who have never suspected it to be such. But we also know that it only requires the *will* of the people of this country, to render every thing deserving the name of wealth, accessible to all its inhabitants. We know that men may be trained to live together in peace, when all were thus surrounded with superabundance. We believe that punishment, so far from having the effect of preventing crime, has an invariable tendency to increase it. We believe that the past and present experience of every society has proved the truth of this: and that the magnitude of crime frequently keeps pace with the magnitude of punishment. We know that there is but one power by which man can be brought into complete subjection, which is by treating him with INVARIABLE KINDNESS, and exhibiting to his understanding, without anger, the effects which bad actions produce in society; and we know that this mode of treatment, if persevered in, can never fail to produce the desired effects.

We therefore say of every man, who comes under the denomination of *lawyer*, that we hope and doubt not that he will shortly cease to derive his income from the misfortunes of his fellow-men.

No. 21. Physic: Physicians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, &c. A system of combined interests would not, perhaps, reduce this class of the community immediately; but that it would do so ultimately, in proportion to the population, there can be no doubt. Excessive luxury and extreme poverty are alike enemies to health. The health of the body is greatly dependent on the health of the mind; and there is no doubt, that, by introducing a system, which

would abolish every thing resembling pecuniary distress, and with it the calamitous effects of extreme poverty, as well as thousands of anxious cares and fears amongst all classes, bodily health would be nationally improved. A very considerable number also of those individuals, who cannot exist a month together without the aid of medicine, are indebted, for their debilitated constitutions, to irregularities in early life; which it is greatly improbable they would have indulged in, had they not been surrounded with temptation. We number all medical men among the useful members of society.

No. 22. Artists, &c. There would be no decrease of these pursuits under the new system. The country could far better afford to encourage them than it has ever yet been able.

No. 23. Agriculture, Mines, &c. Freeholders of the better sort. These are all unproductive members of society. They give no equivalent for that which they consume. They obtain their incomes from rent, interest, and the employment of capital.

Nos. 24 and 25. Lesser Freeholders and Farmers. The occupation of these two are, in many instances, the same. They are chiefly the directors and superintendents of cultivation. Although unproductive, they are nevertheless necessary members of society, but *only in a sufficient number* to direct and superintend cultivation. At present there are three times as many of them as are necessary for this purpose. At least one-half, therefore, are useless members of society.

No. 26. Labourers in Agriculture, Mines, &c. We shall notice these last.

Nos. 27 and 28. Eminent Merchants. These men are unproductive. If they give any equivalent for that which they consume, it is by conducting exchanges with foreign countries. There are at present ten times as many of them as are necessary to do this. Three quarters of them, at least, are not useful members of society.

No. 29. Persons employing professional skill and capital, as Engineers, Surveyors, Master Builders of Houses, &c. Under

the new arrangements one quarter of these men would be amply sufficient to do the work of the whole.

No. 30. Persons employing Capital in Building and Repairing Ships, &c. Persons employing capital is only another name for persons living by the interest of money. These men are unproductive, and are only useful as superintendents; and this they do chiefly by deputy. We shall denominate one half of them useful.

No. 31. Ship-owners, letting ships for freight only. All these again are unproductive; and the whole of their incomes may be saved by the useful classes.

No. 32. Aquatic Labourers in the Merchants' Service, Fisheries, Rivers, Canals, &c. It appears from a former statement in Colquhoun's work, that the profits derived from the whale and seal fisheries, amounted, in the year 1812, to 600,000*l.* after all expences were paid. Of the men employed in these fisheries an immense number might be fairly included amongst the useless members of society, because a great part of the produce of their labour is appropriated to a created necessity, viz.—The oil consumed in shops, &c. for the sale of goods by night, which ought to be sold by day. But having no means of estimating what proportion of these individuals are so employed, we include them all amongst the useful.

No. 33. Manufacturers employing capitals in all branches. These men are unproductive; and are only useful as directors and superintendents of manufactories: a great deal of their work is done by deputy, and there can be no doubt that one third of them would be amply sufficient.

No. 34. Principal Warehousemen selling by wholesale. The new system will not require one-tenth part of the warehousemen now employed. We cannot call more than the half of them useful.

No. 35. Shopkeepers and Tradesmen retailing goods. Certain it is, that these men are not unproductive, for never, upon the face of the earth, was there any thing half so productive of deception and falsehood, folly and extravagance, slavery of the corporeal, and prostitution of the intellectual faculties of man, as the

present system of retail trade. In these particulars certainly, tradesmen are productive enough, but not so according to our former definition. And that they do not give to society an equivalent for that which they consume is certain. A fourth or fifth part of their time is expended in decorating their shop windows, that is, in spoiling goods, and at least half of it in waiting about for their customers or doing nothing useful. If any man will walk through London streets and use his eyes, he will want no arguments to convince him, that there are, at least, two-thirds more of this class than there is any necessity for. The number of them is limited not to those who are *really required* to transact the business of a town in a rational and proper manner, but to those who can *get a living* in it. This circumstance alone, as it necessarily arises out of the present state of society, ought to lead every thinking man to suspect that there is some radical error in our present system of business. How much longer will mankind be so willfully blind as not to know that all trades-people, from the merchant to the apple-woman, are mere *distributors of wealth, who are paid for their trouble by the labour of those who create it?* How much longer will they not know that it is just as absurd, just as extravagant, just as ridiculous, for society to employ three tradesmen when one is sufficient, as it would be for the landlord of an inn to employ three waiters when one would be enough to attend to his company.

No. 36. Persons employing capital as Tailors, Mantua-makers, Milliners, &c. As there would be a prodigious increase in the employment of these classes under the new system, we include all of them amongst the useful of society; although there are far more of them than can obtain employment in the present state of things.

No. 37. Clerks and Shopmen. A system of combined interest would require comparatively but very few of these gentlemen, for at least half of them better employment must be found.

No. 38. Innkeepers and Publicans. Of this class one-half will be more than sufficient under the new system, and they under entirely different arrangements.

No. 39. Umbrella and Parasol Makers, Silk Lace Workers,

Embroiderers, Domestic Spinsters, Cloarstarchers, Laundresses, Manglers, &c. Of these there would be no reduction.

No. 40. Artisans, Handicrafts, Mechanics, and Labourers. We shall notice these last with No. 26.

No. 41. Hawkers, Pedlars, &c. These men are productive only of mischief, and are of no use on earth.

Nos. 42 and 43. Universities and Schools, for the education of youth of both sexes. There are too few of this class.

No. 44. Clergymen regularly ordained, dissenting from the established church, including itinerant preachers. These men at least endeavour to give an equivalent for that which they consume.

No. 45. Theatricals. The new system would have no other effect on this class, than that of offering to its poorer members an easier and more respectable mode of life

No. 46. Persons keeping Houses for Lunatics. It is only wonderful that the existing arrangements of society drive comparatively so few men mad. It is very certain that there are not too many of this class.

No. 47. Lunatics. Although we cannot call these unfortunate individuals useful members of society, we must not rank them amongst the number of those who may be called into useful occupation.

No. 48. Persons confined in Prisons for Debt. Here is a glorious specimen of the present system. We first put it into the power of 17,500 individuals to get *into* debt; and then put them into prison, to prevent the possibility of getting *out of it*!

No. 49. Vagrants, Gipsies, Rogues, Vagabonds, Thieves, Coiners of Base Money, Prostitutes, &c. Number 308,471. These are the deplorable effects of the present system. Preventive regulations would annihilate the very names of these classes.

No. 50. Miscellaneous. As this class is of so various a nature we shall not notice it further.

No. 51. Paupers producing from their own labour £3,871,000, and receiving from parochial rates about six millions. As it appears that a considerable property is created by this class, they cannot all be denominated useless members of society; we therefore estimate three quarters of them under that head.

Before we proceed to notice the productive classes, we would again observe, that we do not wish to lay any particular stress upon the foregoing observations, as they apply to each class separately. We merely wish to convey some general idea of the manner, and amongst what classes the produce of the labour of the industrious is now squandered. The nature of the subject admits of no accurate estimate being made in detail; but *collectively* we fear no refutation, as the question simply is, "Whether or not one quarter of the produce of the country is sufficient to pay the necessary expences of government, direction, superintendence and distribution.

Nos. 26 and 40. Labouring people, employed in Agriculture, Mines and Minerals; Artisans, Handicrafts, Mechanics and Labourers employed in Manufactories, Buildings, and works of every kind.

We now come to the working classes, the whole of which we have included amongst the useful members of society; although numbers of them, strictly speaking, are not so. It may at first sight appear strange to denominate an industrious working man an useless member of society; but a near view of the case will show very plainly, that in many instances he is compelled to become so by the prodigious inequality of wealth.

When a man becomes possessed of a large fortune, (we now speak of men as they generally act,) whose former situation in life was humble, he soon begins to suspect that his house is too small and insignificant for him; he accordingly purchases his country seat; and thinking that a house in town would be convenient and agreeable, he takes one there also. He formerly kept his servant of all work, he now keeps his servants of all sorts of work, and many of no work at all; his land steward and his house steward, his butler and under butler, his valet, coachman, grooms, footmen, cooks, confectioners; and the long list of housekeepers, ladies' maids and their maids, assistants, attendants, &c. &c. How do men of large fortunes usually spend their money? Do they, for the most part, spend it rationally? or do they not spend a very considerable, if not the greater part of it in splendour, show, and luxury? Look at the cost of a nobleman's house and furniture:

look at the expence of his parks and pleasure grounds : look at the expence of his carriages, horses, and dogs : add to these the immense cost of female dress ; and all the minutiae of luxury ; such as forced fruits and vegetables, and the absurd supplies of table luxury in a general sense. Fish, for instance, cannot be eaten if it be cheap, and, in short, no food is good enough for the mighty of the land unless it be bought at an immenso price. All this, we are told, “ makes good for trade ! ” and, under the present system, so it does. But, can any rational being suppose that society is founded on right principles, when we find that its effects are to render luxury and extravagance advantageous ? Have we really brought our minds to suppose, that the more we squander the more we shall have ? Are we for ever to be told, that the man who is spending thousands in the gratification of some absurd whim, is doing good, because he circulates money amongst tradesmen, and because he furnishes employment for a number of labouring men ? Every labouring man, so employed, is an useless member of society, for the produce of his labour is useless ; and the effect is a direct tax on the productive labourer usefully employed. This state of things will have an end ; the system is as weak as it is absurd and destructive.

It appears to us to be tolerably clear, that he is an useless member of society, the produce of whose labour is in itself useless : but we will examine this point a little further :—there is nothing like instances ; and we will take one in this case which will furnish us with an important view of the present state of society.

The manufacture of lace is now brought to great perfection in this country. In some instances a single dress is worth 100 guineas or more. That is, it may really have cost so much of the time and labour of an industrious man, that it would not pay his employer a reasonable profit to sell it for a less sum. Now are we to consider the maker of such dresses an useful member of society, because by his labour a family is provided with the necessaries of life during the time he is so employed ? Most certainly not ! The *lace dress* is the produce of his labour, and it is useless. It can neither be eaten nor drank ; and it forms no part

of useful wearing apparel. It is made only to please the fancy and to be looked at. It will not compare, in point of real utility, with a penny loaf or a glass of cold water. The provisions that the maker of it has been consuming, the clothes that he has been wearing, and the house that he has been occupying, are the produce of *other mens' labour*, not of his; and this useless, senseless plaything is the *artifice*, by which he is enabled to supply himself with those necessities which he requires, from the labour of others; who receive in exchange for them—what? A lace dress? A carriage? An elegant mansion? No! none of these. A small sum of money, sufficient only to enable them to re-purchase about *one-fifth part of the produce of their own labour*, or of the equivalent labour of others. What, we would ask, does the purchaser of such a dress give for it? He gives one hundred guineas, *taken perhaps by the rent of land out of the produce of the industry of the agricultural labourer*, he gives of that which is strictly his own, *nothing!* No! not the value of a straw. And what does the labourer give for his scanty pittance? He gives the *remaining fifth* of the produce of his industry, of which he has not been defrauded, and why? Not because any protection is afforded to it by the existing arrangements of society; but, because without it he *could not even exist* to be the slave of others. The rich man, who, in point of fact, pays nothing, receives every thing: while the poor man, who, in point of fact, pays every thing, receives nothing!

We put it to the candour of every honest man, whether such a state of society as this ought to be preserved! Whether it is not at variance with every principle of common honesty! We willingly admit, that the evil originates in no man, nor class of men. We readily allow that it would be extremely unjust to feel the slightest hostility towards any man, who happens to be placed by circumstances over which he had no controul, in the situation of an oppressor. But while we acquit the man, we condemn the system, and say of it, "that its foundation stone is INJUSTICE."

The truth is, that it is not crime but ignorance which has brought us into this condition. We have hitherto overlooked all natural principles in the formation of our customs and institutions, and

have conducted our affairs by chance. This has heaped error upon error, until it has literally overwhelmed us with confusion, and created evils innumerable, which have no existence in nature. It is quite time that this state of things had an end ; we hope, and doubt not, that its end is near.

From what has been stated it is evident, that numbers of labouring people, capable of being useful members of society, are employed uselessly : and this is not confined to one kind of occupation or to another. The carpenter, the bricklayer, the smith, the painter, the glazier, the plumber, and every other description of labourers are, in greater or less numbers, continually employed in building hot-houses, green-houses, decorative buildings, and innumerable other equally useful things, the whole and sole purpose of which is to please the fancy, to gratify the whims, and to supply the imaginary wants of the wealthy. This state of things could not possibly be if wealth were equally divided. A man whose income is moderate, cannot afford immoderate luxuries. He, whose income is only 500*l.* a year, cannot spend 5,000*l.* a year in expensive follies ; and the productive classes could not be uselessly employed, if none could afford so to employ them.

Thousands more of the productive classes are employed in supplying necessities, created by the present system, which have no existence in nature or rationality. Such, for example, as shop fronts, and various other like follies resorted to in the disposal of goods. Those who are unacquainted with business, have little idea what immense sums of money are annually squandered in this way. Such things are, indeed, necessary to the present system. They arise from excessive competition in trade, but of what real use are they ? (These mentioned.) The use of them is to destroy goods of all descriptions ; thereby compelling the venders of them to obtain larger profits on their sales, than they would otherwise require, to make up for the loss of bad stock so occasioned. We trust that it has now been made sufficiently plain that numbers, even, of the productive classes are compelled by the present system to become useless members of society.

THE OCCUPATIONS OF MEN CONSIDERED, AS AFFECTING THEIR INDIVIDUAL HAPPINESS.

Having endeavoured to convey some general idea of the manner in which the produce of the country is now distributed ; and to show how far men, as society is now constituted, are useful to each other, we will next inquire how far they are useful to themselves ; or, in other words, how far their present occupations are calculated to promote their own individual happiness.

In the consideration of this part of our subject we shall not again notice each distinct class of occupation separately, but shall speak of them in more general terms.

Saying nothing about kings, who are surrounded from their cradles, with circumstances which compel them to look upon *grandeur*, as the *ne plus ultra* of human excellence, let us pass on to the higher classes, and next to the miserable wretch, who scarcely knows by what means to support existence, no set of beings can perhaps be found more worthy of our commiseration, than, what are called, the independent classes. Let us examine, first, their independence.

We now come to a subject, which we shall treat most uncere- moniously ; we therefore beg, that whatever be said of it will be looked upon as applying to the system only, and not to the individuals composing it.

The persons who compose these Independent classes, are Dependent upon two things : first, upon the *industry* of their fellow-creatures : second, upon *injustice* which enables them to command it.

That they are dependent upon the industry of their fellow-creatures is plain. The food they eat, the clothes that cover them, the houses they inhabit, the furniture they contain, the ornaments that decorate them ; in short, every thing, except the air they breath, is supplied to them by the labour of men's hands. Nay more ! so completely helpless are they, that they are dependent upon others for the very adjusting of their dress.

They are dependent upon the baker for their bread, and upon the butcher for their meat. They are dependent upon the brick-layer for their houses, and upon the upholsterer for the furnishing of them. They are dependent upon the tailor and upon the dress-maker for their clothes; and upon their valets and maids to put them on.* If there is a name which, better than any other, will describe this class of men, it is the word **DEPENDENTS**.

But, say they, although we are fully aware, that, strictly speaking, we are helplessness itself, we live upon *our property*. This we positively deny, and affirm, on the contrary, that they live on the *property of others*.

As this is simply a question of fact, it will easily be determined by an inquiry into the nature of property.

The foundation of all property is **LABOUR**, and there is no other just foundation for it. In the rudest ages of antiquity, a man who had killed an animal for food would look upon it as his property. Should another take it from him, it would be looked upon as an act of injustice, and the attempt to do it would instantly be resisted. But we need not go into ages past for examples, for in every society, labour is the *exclusive source* of property, consequently the *exclusive foundation* of it. If a man can, in any case, say truly "this is mine," surely it is, when the thing spoken of is the produce of the labour of his hands. Is a man's right hand his own? We deny that it is more so than the produce of the labour of it.

It being evident, then, that labour is the sole foundation of property, and that, in fact, all property is nothing more than accumulated labour; the question which seems to arise is, "Do the persons we are speaking of consume the produce of other person's labour, or do they consume the produce of their own?" They consume the former; but they give an equivalent for it in the shape of money, which is itself accumulated labour, or the representative of it. But is that money theirs to give? Is **IT** the produce of their labour, or of other people's? What equivalent

* "See Metaphorical Sketches of the Old and New Systems" by A. Combe. It was not at hand when this was written, or his words would have been used in the above argument.

do they give for IT? **THEY GIVE NO EQUIVALENT FOR IT:** and we will clearly show to those, whose minds are not influenced by long existing custom, that the independent classes of society; are solely dependent upon injustice for their daily bread. These persons obtain their incomes, for the most part, from the rent of land and interest of money. Let us examine these a little.

In the first place we deny, that, strictly speaking, any man can be a proprietor of land at all. The earth is the habitation, the natural inheritance of all mankind: of ages present and to come; a habitation belonging to no man in particular, but to every man; and one in which *all* have an *equal* right to dwell. Ask any land-owner what right he has to the land he possesses, and he will produce a collection of parchments, to prove, that from God knows when, the property he holds has been in the possession of his ancestors. But how came his ancestors by it? He answers by conquest, or by taking possession. But neither of these could make it their property. There are but three ways, in which it is possible to become rightly possessed of property. The first is by making it; the second by purchasing it; the third is by donation from another, whose property it was. Now as it is clear that neither our present land-owners, nor their ancestors did create the earth; and as it is as clear, that he who did create it, neither gave it to them in particular, nor sold it to them; it is impossible that they, or any men living, can be the proprietors of an inch of it: but right to the *use and possession* of land consists in *having property upon it*: and this is a distinction of immense importance as regards our present inquiry.

To elucidate our opinion, we will suppose that a number of men were to take up their abode on some previously uninhabited island. On their arrival there, each would feel an equal right to partake of whatever fruits he might find upon it. No one would look upon the *un-gathered* fruit as his property; but each would consider that fruit his own, which he had taken the trouble to collect. He would feel and know, that he had more right to it than any of his fellows. By the same rule none of these men would think of calling the uncultivated earth his property; and even though some one were to call a portion of it his, he would

only be laughed at, while the whole of it remained in a state of nature. But, let him *cultivate* that land; let him clear it and plough it; let him sow it with seed, and let that seed produce a crop; and who would say of that crop "it is not his?" Every one would feel conscious that it was as much his as the gathered fruit. It would be known that it was by his labour that it was produced; and who could say of such a crop, "*I, who have done NOTHING towards its production, am as much its proprietor, as he, by whose EXCLUSIVE labour it was produced!*"

By what right then, we ask, does any man consider himself entitled to rent for the use of land? To call himself the proprietor of the land itself is perfectly absurd, and as presumptuous as if he were to say, "the sun is mine, and you shall pay me a rent because he shines upon you." The land itself is of no value, until labour be applied to it. It is its produce *only* that is valuable. What does the landlord do towards the production of it? He does nothing! Then we say that no part of it whatever can be his. Did he make the land itself? No! Did he prepare it for the seed? No! Did he furnish the seed and scatter it? No! Did he cause the seed to take root, and bring forth a crop? No! Was it at his command that the sun made it to ripen? No! Did he gather it into the barn? No! And did not these, collectively, produce the corn? Yes! Where then is the justice of his claim to a portion of it, *since labour is the exclusive foundation of property, and since it was produced, exclusively, by the labour of other men!* What equivalent does he give for that portion of it which he claims as his? He gives NO EQUIVALENT WHATEVER, and there is NO JUSTICE WHATEVER in his possessing himself of it. It was exclusively produced by the labour of others, and it is EXCLUSIVELY THEIR PROPERTY.

But the world says it is his! Yes!—What has made it so? *The power and custom of obtaining it!* In this, and in *this alone*, consists his title to it; and if this be admitted as a just foundation of property, is it not at once allowing that any thing is justice which happens to be law; and that, as to a natural foundation for property, there is *no such thing!*

But suppose a man has entitled himself to the possession of land

by cultivation, and that at some future time he wishes to dispose of it, is he not entitled to some remuneration for having improved it? Certainly! Of what quality was the land when he became possessed of it? Of such a quality! Of what quality is it now? Of such another quality! Then here is the remuneration he ought to receive; viz. the value of that quantity of manure, and of that quantity of labour which would be required to convert the land from the quality it was to the quality it now is.

It is by no means a pleasant task to be thus striking at the roots of the established customs of the country. We are the last persons in existence who would resort to violent measures to relieve distress; and we are persuaded that violence can never afford permanent relief; but the task we have undertaken is to expose the errors of the system under which we are now acting, and to propose a better one. We are not endeavouring to please the prejudices of mankind, but to exhibit truth, and he who sets out with this intention, will stop very far short of his goal, who looks with a respectful eye at the established customs of any country. We are compelled to denominate them a combination of errors, abundantly productive of the misery and depravity of our species; and before we can obtain those blessings which nature is willing to afford us, we must literally discard the present state of things altogether; and this, we again observe, must be done without violence, without violating the rights of any man.

We will now turn our thoughts to the interest of money, which is another mode of obtaining labour without giving any equivalent for it: or in other words of legally and unjustly imposing on other men the task of keeping us in idleness. By way of elucidation let us suppose a case.

A man in trade accumulates a fortune, say, for example, by making hats. The money he possesses is the representative of that quantity of the country's wealth, to which he has become entitled by the exercise of his trade; over and above the quantity he consumed during the same time. Now

if a hat be worth twenty shillings, we will suppose that he has accumulated ten thousand hats. But it would not answer his purpose to stow them in a warehouse until his old age, because they would decrease in value: and as he could not conveniently exchange them for other commodities, he finds it expedient to convert them into money, which is not so likely to decrease in value; and which will, at any time, exchange for any commodity. Now we should like to understand the justice of that principle, by which this man, whose stock of hats or of pounds sterling, for it matters not which we call it, is no more and no less than ten thousand, is enabled to receive back, twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty thousand hats or pounds, which he does receive back in forty, sixty, eighty or one hundred years, if he and his posterity confine their annual expenditure to 500*l.*, and, *at the end of that time to have in stock as many hats or pounds as ever!!* Can the bee do this? Can the ant do this? No! neither can man do it without invading the rights of others.

Suppose a number of men were to commence their operations apart from the rest of society, and that each had a store-room for the produce of his labour. Suppose one of these men, more fortunate than the rest, having filled his store-room quite full, were to say to his fellows, "Gentlemen, having an abundant stock of produce, I will work no more, I will not, however, consume any portion of it; but you, who have accumulated nothing, shall labour still, and I will consume the produce as fast as you create it." The others would, certainly, look upon this as a singular kind of proposition. Strange, however, as it may appear, society, as it is now constituted, not only proposes this, but is actually practising it to the extent of many millions annually.

All persons deriving their incomes from the interest of money, are living upon *this kind* of justice.

It may perhaps be said, that requiring interest for the use of money is only requiring the fulfilment of a contract, made by the consent of both parties; and therefore that it cannot

be called an act of injustice. This is no answer to our argument. We are not talking about men being obliged to *fulfil* contracts after they have made them, but about the justice of the *contracts themselves*. It does not follow, because a contract is made between two individuals, each consulting his own interest, that the contract itself must be just. All just contracts have for their foundation *equal quantities of labour*: and, although a man having agreed to give twice as much for an article as it is worth, may, perhaps, be fairly obliged to fulfil his engagement, that does not alter the nature of the engagement itself, which is unjust upon the face of it.

But, although it must be admitted that, by the custom of receiving interest for the use of money, a man frequently obtains double and treble what he lends; yet it may be said, that the money may really be worth to the borrower that which he pays for it. This we admit: but there is always a third party concerned in these cases. *What does the productive labourer obtain for that portion of the produce of his industry, which is annually taken from him by incomes obtained by the lenders of money?* He obtains NOTHING! Then we ask, is a man the natural proprietor of the produce of his own labour? If he is not, what foundation is there for property at all? Under what circumstances can a man say, "This is mine?" If he is, how can that custom have any foundation in justice which takes it from him, without giving him any equivalent? Either a man *is not* the just proprietor of the produce of his own labour, or, there is no justice in requiring interest for the use of money! It is totally impossible for both of them to have any foundation in justice.

If a man accumulates a fortune, and chooses to retire upon it, the moment he ceases to do something to support himself that fortune ought to decrease by every shilling he takes from it; as the bee fills her hive in the summer, and consumes the produce of her industry in the winter. This would be living upon property.

We trust that it has now been made sufficiently plain, that

the independent classes of society are dependent, first, upon the industry of others ; and second, upon injustice, which enables them to command it.

But, if the incomes of the higher classes are a direct tax upon the producers of wealth, have not they themselves every thing they can desire ? We fear not, but that on the contrary, they are literally surrounded with circumstances, each of which would prevent the possibility of their being happy. They have food, clothing, and habitation it is true, but how are they supplied to them ? Of the first, is it sufficient that it be of the best kind, and be supplied in the best manner ? No ! custom has rendered it the vehicle of ostentation and rivalry.

Of the second, is it sufficient that it be of the kind, best calculated to protect the person ; to secure bodily health and comfort ; and to exhibit the real elegancies of the human form ? No ! A thing called *fashion*, better named *folly*, is the grand desideratum. No matter how little the dress be calculated to protect the person ; no matter how inconvenient in its structure, or how much calculated to injure health ; no matter how absurd in its appearance, provided it be fashionable : and, consequently, (for it is a necessary consequence,) to introduce a *new mode* is the summit of human achievements.

How much longer will beings, capable of becoming rational, by an early direction of their faculties to pursuits calculated to repay their toil with real pleasure, be thus the dupes of a never-failing cheat, whose rewards to her devotees are perpetual renewals of her former promises !

Of the third, is it enough, that it answer all the purposes of protection from the elements, a retreat from the bustle of business or recreation, a place amply accommodated for the purposes of society, retirement, and domestic pleasure ? No ! it must be grand ; it must be magnificent ; it must say, " My occupant is a man of wealth ;" otherwise it is of little use !

But can it be denied, that the circumstances of this class allow of every enjoyment. Have they not their families and

friends around them, with ample opportunity of exercising the virtues of benevolence, hospitality, friendship, and of affection?

We certainly cannot deny, that they have all the happiness that can be *purchased*! but we do deny that happiness can be purchased at all. Wealth, without a right direction of the faculties and affections, can afford us but little pleasure; and while distinction, empty, vain distinction, is the mark (as now it is throughout the wealthy world) at which all are taught to aim; disappointment will be the never-failing result.

The rich are ready enough to contribute to charities, when a *name* can be purchased by it, and the difference between their condition and that of their fellow-men exhibited by the donation. But exhibit to them a statement of facts, proving to demonstration, that the sum of money they give annually to public charities, may be so employed, as in a few years, to raise the productive classes to a condition in life equal and superior to *THEMSELVES*; and that from henceforth their annual donations will be uncalled for: solicit their *charity* to such an undertaking as this, and you will learn to call it by its right name. You will get more pounds to build poor houses than you will get pence to raise the condition of the lower orders, to that of perfect independence and freedom!

The lower orders must do this for themselves, and they will do it too.

As to the affections of this class, they seldom flow in a natural direction. Look at their marriages! How few can say,—

“ ’Tis not the coarser tie of human laws,
Unnatural oft,—and foreign to the mind,
That binds *our* peace, but harmony itself,
Attuning all our passions into love!”

Imagine for a moment, (and it will not be difficult to do so, for the reality is too frequently before our eyes,) a fine girl, endowed by nature with a kind heart, an open, generous disposition, and qualities of mind capable of rendering her esteemed, respected, and beloved by all; imagine such a girl as this, under the influence of parental *avarice*, striving

to overcome the better feelings of her nature, to annihilate each interesting charm, and to become a slave, a mere thing of the world. At last her nature yields; behold her then, the purchased property of one, who loves her little, and who she loves less: the golden vision over, its real value known; and stern reality presented to her view in all the horrors of remorse. Some little quarrel, perhaps, with him she formerly could just endure as partner of her bed, converts indifference into hatred; and then, if formerly solicited by one she loved, too late she cries, "Where might I now have been!" Stung with remorse, she flies to books, perhaps, to dissipate the anguish of her mind; but here again she fails. Perhaps a few lines, descriptive of the joys of virtuous love, may meet her eye; she dares not read them; throws the book away, and, in the anguish of her soul, despair becomes the sole possessor of her mind. Such are the matchless joys of *purchased* love; and such the history of half our race.

But days and years roll on, until, at length, the constant struggle kills those kindlier feelings, which she once possessed. At last, she wonders why she ever felt a pang; calls love the dream of childhood, and becomes herself the vender of her offspring's joy.

If such, then, be the picture of the wealthy world, we cannot envy it. If such the purchased joys of wealth, let us no longer blame the purchaser; who, misled by promises of pleasure, false as they are fair, pursues a shadow and neglects the substance; but rather let us think of him with pity, and lay before his view a specimen of what true pleasure is. In vain will falsehood *then* defend her cause; "TRUTH WILL PREVAIL," and man will yet become a happy race.

As there appears, then, so little prospect of happiness amongst the higher classes, since their pursuits are calculated to annihilate the possibility of its existence, by substituting cold formalities, external pomp, and petty rivalships, for heart-felt cordiality, internal satisfaction, and rational pleasure, let us pass on to the commercial world, and see whether it is in a better condition.

The striking features of the character of this class are insincerity, slavery of the corporeal, and prostitution of the intellectual faculties, and perfect indifference to the misfortunes of their fellow-creatures. We are not, however, condemning the men; we are only endeavouring to exhibit the necessary consequences of the present system of human affairs.

Can that man be sincere, whose constant occupation is an effort to make his commodities appear better than his neighbour's? and is not this the constant occupation of the commercial world? Equal capitals, skill, and industry, employed in the manufacturing of goods, will, in general, produce goods of equal values at equal prices. How then is a new manufacturer, presenting himself in the markets, when both he and his goods are alike unknown, to obtain customers, but by false representations, if competition has already reduced profits to the lowest scale? The fact is, *he has no other resource*: and however much men may differ in their mode of doing this, according to the different constructions of their consciences, they all do it, and all must do it while the present system of commerce exists.

The same is even more applicable to retail traders. The same markets are open to all. Equal capitals, with equal skill and industry, will command goods at equal prices. The consequence is, that a never-ceasing effort takes place amongst competitors, to make their goods appear cheaper than their neighbour's. Truth can be of no service in this cause. From the nature of the case it is evident that falsehood must be resorted to. What says experience? There is not one advertisement in one hundred, which appears in the public prints, relating to the prices of goods in retail shops, but what is untrue. Let any man deny this, who knows any thing of business. The printers of newspapers ought to place all advertisements from retail shops, under the head of "*Falsehoods, misrepresentations, &c.*" Can general sincerity exist in such a state of society as this? We deny the possibility of it! Can general happiness exist in the absence of general sincerity? Impossible: it would be the weakest of weaknesses to expect it.

As to the occupations themselves, they are perfect slavery. In manufacturing and wholesale trades, it is true, the employers do not, in general, make use of much personal exertion; but their minds are in a state of continual anxiety. They are for ever being tortured with fears, either of being outdone by their competitors, or of losing property by their debtors. Fluctuations in prices, losses in trade, unfortunate speculations, and other disagreeables of the like kind, occupy the greater portion of their thoughts. The consequence of which is, that the character becomes morose, sullen, avicious, gloomy, and callous; though it were naturally excellence itself. Intellectual pursuits are totally out of the question. Should a man be so unfortunate, as to devote a reasonable portion of his time to study or recreation, he fails. To be successful, every effort of body and mind must be exclusively devoted to the laudable, admirable, and glorious pursuit of *getting money*. But if this be the condition of the employers, how do we find the employed? These may, indeed, cast an envious eye towards the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air. Besides inheriting the mental qualities which we have just described, these men are the greatest slaves in existence. In wholesale trades they are not, in general so badly off as in retail ones; though, in the former, there is quite enough to sicken and disgust every man who has the least taste for intellectual pleasure: but deplorable indeed is the condition of a retail shopman.

For a pittance just sufficient to make him look smart and prim, he toils from seven in the morning until all hours of night, and often

"Till the grey morn
Lifts her pale lustre on the paler wretch."

During this time, he is engaged in the interesting occupations of decorating shop-windows, ticketing goods, smirking and smiling across a counter, or standing about in idleness; and, lastly, in undoing at night all that he did in the morning. Glorious occupation! Worthy of rational men! Useful members of society!

Nearly allied to this class there is another, viz. milliners and dressmakers, with their assistants. These are even in a still more hopeless condition, for they commence their operations about the same time, which, with less variation and exercise, and frequently the worst of food, with scarcely a sufficient time allowed for even the attempt to eat it, continue until the very latest hour of morning that the ill-fated victim can be employed, without the actual destruction of existence. Some, who are unacquainted with the practices in these trades, may look upon this as an overdrawn statement; but indeed it is not so; it is the naked truth.

But to return to the shopkeepers, whose misfortune, and not fault, it is that they are so placed; let them, for the sake of their future welfare and happiness, attend a few general meetings, and take their case into consideration. Let them consider well what *they are*, and what they *may be*. Only let them once see their present condition, as it really is, their efforts to escape from it will be in proportion to their knowledge of it. A few will set the example, the many will soon follow, and the present frivolous and insipid race of shopkeepers shall change into rational, intelligent, useful members of society; free as the air they breathe.

But, if insincerity and slavery are evils attendant on the present system of commerce, how much worse a one is that perfect callousness of heart which is necessarily generated by it!

The division of interest in the employment of capital, is of itself sufficient to annihilate every amiable feeling, to reduce man to a character below the brute, and to render him the most callous of created beings.

There is not a man in this country who depends, in any way, on commerce for subsistence, who has not a thousand commercial enemies. The labourer, who seeks employment, frequently finds enemies to his interest even amongst those who would otherwise be his friends. His relatives perhaps may have obtained employment, which would otherwise have fallen to his share. Amongst tradesmen of every kind the

same evil exists. The merchant, the wholesale dealer, the retail tradesman, the mechanic, each of these finds an enemy to his commercial interest in every individual engaged in the same line of business as himself. The very beggar well knows, that were it not for the numberless competitors with whom he has to contend, how much less frequently his applications would be made without effect. Thus man becomes the universal foe of man, and triumphs in the fall of him whom nature tells him that he ought to love. The destruction of one is the prosperity of another; thus envy, hatred, malice, personal enmity, and perfect indifference to the misfortunes of our fellow creatures, become generated in the human breast; and yet, strange and incredible as it may appear, while these and like dispositions of the mind are nothing more nor less, than the *necessary and never failing consequences* of the present system, we actually employ a body of men, in number, including their families and domestics, about 116 thousands, and pay them several millions annually, to destroy *by precept*, that which almost every other institution of society is giving birth to and nurturing! The present system of human affairs, is calculated, in almost all its parts, to bring the principle of self-love into competition with benevolence. Look to this ye meters of evils; you, who would reform the fruit, while you cherish the tree of evil. Understand this circumstance, remove it, and if the world *then* refuses to be happy, blame human nature. But while this remains, it is as wise to expect happiness, as it would be to expect the pine-apple to flourish in a bed of snow.

We now come to the lower classes, the misery and degradation of whose condition are too well known to require either description or comment. We shall therefore pass them over by merely observing, that their case is entirely hopeless while the present system of commerce exists; and we shall proceed to make a few observations on the late distresses of Ireland. The following extracts from correspondence, published by the London Committee at the time, cannot be too frequently brought before the public eye.

EXTRACTS.

" **FROM BANTRY.**—In a population of 16,250 there are 7,000 totally dependent on a fund of 553*l*. This is a fearful number of famishing paupers. It being impossible to minister to the wants of all, scenes of the most agonizing distress are every day taking place.

" The pride of the people too adds to the calamity. One woman, ashamed to make her case known, died, with her three children, of actual starvation. Many are seen to faint through exhaustion during the necessary delay that occurs in administering food, and it is the opinion of many that, were it not for the benevolent aid of the British Public, the local subscriptions would be hardly sufficient to purchase coffins for those who would die of mere want. The Typhus Fever, and Dysentery are also prevailing rapidly."

" **FROM RATHKEALE.**— I went yesterday to lay before the Committee the result of our visitation through the Town lands of our Parish. Of 1382 persons 883 were destitute of any means of providing food. Many for a long time had but one meal for their families, some had been eating some remnants of seed potatoes left in the ground since last year, many had not a morsel to eat. Want of food has brought the fever among us."

" **FROM LISTOWEL.**—On behalf of my poor countrymen I return heartfelt thanks to you for having thus humanely averted the impending and otherwise inevitable calamity of a famine. These humane efforts will save thousands of famishing creatures from death. Hitherto they have been supported by the exertions of a nearly exhausted country, exertions stretched far beyond the means of those making them, but no longer able to carry them on. Few have hitherto died of actual starvation, but the pale and emaciated faces met with in the streets and on the roads proved the rapid approach of this last stage. One man had not a morsel to eat for three days, and when stretched on his bed to die was saved by a trifle, but his recovery was slow."

" FROM ROSCOMMON.—The sum of £50 remitted for the relief of the two Parishes of D. and K. is very nearly expended. In a few days nearly 3,000 inhabitants will again be reduced to a state of starvation."

" FROM KILLARNEY.—No case can surpass the wretchedness of the residents of Ibrickane, &c. A total failure of the last year's crop deprived them of the only means of subsistence. To prolong a miserable existence they have been compelled to live on rock weed, limpets, and the tops of nettles. Hundreds daily flock to the sea side to collect scanty meals. Humanity shudders at the sight of their pale and sickly forms, worn away by disease and famine. With joy and gratitude they hail the exertions made by a generous Public to relieve their misfortunes."

" FROM TARBUT.—Unless further and immediate relief be afforded, the distress for want of food for 2,197 persons will be calamitous in the extreme. There is only a scanty supply for six or seven days more."

" FROM MAYO.—Of 8,000 inhabitants in the Parish of K. one-half are now literally in a state of starvation. The numbers too crying out for relief increase daily. There is unhappily neither a Rector, nor a Gentleman of property resident in the Parish."

" FROM GALWAY.—I cannot describe the deplorable state of this wretched people. Many of them subsist on a weed brought twenty or twenty-five miles upon their backs from the sea shore. At a meeting of the most respectable Inhabitants, so great is the want of money, we could not get 10*l.* To this I shall add 50*l.* But what is that to support 4,000 distressed beings until the harvest?"

" FROM CORK.—Sickness and famine are daily making such rapid strides that I think nothing less than Divine interposition can save half of my unfortunate parishioners from perishing with hunger."

" FROM CLIFDEN.—As to the employment of the Poor, a few days more will unfit them for any work. One poor man was employed last week on the roads, was at work on Sa-

turday evening, got up this morning (Monday) to work, said he felt languid and sleepy, and lay down again on the ground and died. Four died in Boffin, and if swelled limbs, pale looks, sunken cheeks, and hollow eyes are the harbingers of death, the work of death will soon be very rapid here. I have often seen scarcity, but never had an idea of famine until now."

" **FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM.**—I have sent to the Committee a full statement of the hideous scenes I have witnessed. If thousands are not sent to Mayo and Galway, whole populations must die. On my way to Castlebar I passed a multitude of half starved men, women, and children, seeking a share of a handful of meal, which could only keep them alive, and no more."

" From the Same (shewn to me at the Committee Room.)

" I say to you in the language of my poor people: The Lord bless your English Committee; you are doing your best to save us from starving, but I fear all will not do.

" Your's

" **P. TUAM.**"

Now without adding one word, if it were possible to do so, to awaken compassion still more deeply than this simple statement of facts must awaken it; we only ask whether this is not sufficient to make us suspect that there is some error in our system of a very serious nature? We ask if, with facts like these before our eyes, we are for ever to be lulled into a state of lethargic insensibility, and for ever to console ourselves with the old maxim, "that things are finding their level?" Things have been finding their level ever since the creation: when, we ask, is that level to be found? And what sort of a level will it be when found? It is very clear that at least five hundred thousand Irish have been nearly finding their level, and it appears to us that the level they *have* found, is the level we all deserve to find, if we do not alter our mode of

acting. Are we, because sufficient money has been collected to alleviate the late extreme distress of Ireland, to sit down and make ourselves contented? To set down to the account of *Providence* our past indescribable state of wretchedness, and to take it for granted that now all is right, and that things will go on better in future? Or, ought we not, rather, to devote our unremitted attention TO DISCOVER AND REMOVE THE CAUSE of such calamities? And, in this pursuit, are we to make every effort to discover truth subservient to established custom and received opinion? Are we to make a full stop, when we find something resembling difficulty between us and our purpose? Or ought we not, rather, to pursue our object with unabated energy *until we gain it*, regardless of difficulties, and valuing at nothing the opinion of the world?

If such a task we have undertaken, may we be enabled to fix a steady and an anxious eye upon our object. May we be enabled to pursue it with unabated firmness, notwithstanding the difficulties which may be expected to present themselves.

The cause of Ireland's distress is this; the productive Irish, like the productive English, are cursed by the division of interest in the employment of capital. They are deprived of that natural and unquestionable right, *the produce of their own labour*. Only give them this, and they will neither want your money to assist them out of temporary difficulties, nor your military forces to keep them in quietness and good order. We say, *give them their natural rights*; they want nothing but what is strictly their own. We should have said, cease to take from them those crops, which are their own; cease to plunder and oppress them, and they will cease for ever to solicit your charity and to disturb your peace. But this is a waste of time and words; it is in vain to tell the rich man that he ought not to oppress; let us hasten to instruct the poor man, by what means he will be enabled to secure to himself all he wants, all he requires, all he is desirous to obtain, the produce of his industry, for the loss of which nothing can requite him.

The miseries of Ireland, and of England too, are *still* be-

fore our eyes. Shall we then let this subject pass away down the stream of time, and sink in the current of oblivion? No! We will pursue it. We know the value of the principles we are advocating too well to let them rest. The world at large cannot much longer misunderstand them; and so soon as they shall be generally understood, they will be generally acted upon. We will now notice a *public opinion* on this subject.

The following is an extract from a weekly paper of the 4th of August, 1822:—"ABSENTEES. It will hardly be credited by those who have no means of knowing the circumstance, that there are from one hundred to one hundred and fifty thousand English and Irish people of property, living in different parts of the continent. Whole towns are absolutely peopled with them. In Paris, the Duke of H. with the Earls S. and F. at an expence to themselves, or *rather to their country*, of 100,000*l.* per annum, lead the fashion to about twenty thousand English persons of a mixed character." The remainder of the article goes on to state who the parties are, and where they are residing; which particulars are not at all necessary to our subject. The absence of these persons from their estates has been considered a cause of the great distress of Ireland; and it is for this reason that we notice it.

Now let any man, who has ever been accustomed to think at all; let any man, who has ever, for a moment, turned his thoughts to the subject of human affairs, look upon this statement: first at the fact itself, and then at its consequences.

Can any one possibly bring his mind to suppose that men have not a right to go to any part of the world they please? Is there anything in nature which calls upon a man, as an act of duty, to remain where he is born? Is there any reason in nature, why a man of fortune, who has nothing to do but to enjoy himself, should confine himself to any particular spot of ground, where he happens to come into existence, while the beauties of nature and of art are so extensively scattered over the whole earth, that the more he sees, the more he may reasonably be expected to desire to see? Is it written in the

skies or in the bible—"thou shalt dwell in the land of thy forefathers?" Or, is it written in the consciences of men, that they should do this?

But, even if it were an indefensible practice to leave our native country, who knows so little of human nature as to suppose, that men, ever constant lovers of themselves, can be brought to please any one but themselves upon such a subject. But the practice is defensible upon every principle of natural right, and the clamour against it is vain and senseless.

Now for its consequences, which are very simple, and easily explained. The Irish, for example, first export nearly the whole of the produce of their labour, to enable them to pay their rents: and upon the receipt of the money for this produce they export that also. The produce goes to one country, the money, perhaps, to another. The consequence is plain. As the portion left for them, is never more than barely sufficient to support existence, the first hour anything like a failure in a crop takes place, they are literally starving to death. And these are the apparent effects of what we have defined to be an innocent and defensible practice. Yes! and we submit it as a position, which fears no refutation, that the very fact of an innocent and justifiable practice producing evil of this enormous nature, proves incontestably, that the real cause of the evil is of a deeper rooted nature; and that what we have hitherto looked upon as the cause, is only an effect of some other cause.

We will not deny, that there may be some particular instances, arising out of very peculiar circumstances, which will form an exception; but we venture to say, as a general, and almost invariable principle, that man cannot injure man by taking *his own* property to any part of the globe. The persons who furnish the subject of our present consideration, are living upon property, which *is not naturally their own*. They are living upon property, of which the productive classes are the true proprietors, and of which they have been deprived *by the force of circumstances*. The property they live upon is not their's: they did not create it: they have given no

equivalent for it. We defy them to shew, by any principle of justice, *that they have any right whatever to it.* THIS is the cause of the evil. They can never do any mischief, by absenting themselves, while they live upon property which is strictly their own.

It appears, from the Report of the Select Committee on the Employment of the Poor in Ireland, appointed by Parliament with reference to the late distresses, that "the potatoe-crop, which furnishes the general food of the peasantry, had failed; but there was no want of food of another description, for the support of human life. On the contrary, the crops of grain had been far from deficient; and the prices of corn and of oatmeal were very moderate. The export of grain, from parts *within the distressed districts* of Ireland, was considerable, during the entire period from May to August, infinitely exceeding the imports during that period: and those districts in the South and West presented the remarkable example of POSSESSING A SURPLUS OF FOOD, *whilst the inhabitants were suffering* FROM ACTUAL WANT. The meritorious patience of the peasantry, under the pressure of want, is here not undeserving of attention and of praise. The calamity of 1822 may, therefore, be said to have proceeded less from the want of food itself, than from the want of adequate means of purchasing it; or in other words, from the want of profitable employment."

"An intelligent Scotch Agriculturist, who visited Ireland during the last year, alleges, 'that a large portion of the peasantry live in a state of misery of which he could have formed no conception, not imagining that any human beings could exist in such wretchedness; their cabins scarcely contain an article that can be called furniture; in some families there are *no such things as bedclothes*, the peasants showed some fern, and a quantity of straw thrown over it, upon which they slept in their working clothes, yet, *whenever they had a meal of potatoes they were cheerful*; the greater part he understood to drink nothing but water. This statement appears confirmed by the testimony of many of the witnesses examined by your

Committee, who agree not only in this melancholy description of the condition of a considerable portion of the Irish peasantry, but agree also in attributing it to the *total want of employment* in which they are left. In some parts of the country one half of the entire population are stated to be without employment, in others the proportion is said to be still greater; and all the witnesses examined agree in attributing, to a considerable degree, the turbulent spirit of the peasantry and their excesses to this cause. At Clonakilty, in the county of Cork, where the linen manufacture has been introduced, tranquillity is stated to have prevailed. The county of Mayo where yarn and linens to a considerable extent are manufactured, the public peace has not been endangered. One Barony in the county of Kerry has been uniformly the least disturbed, and in that Barony alone has manufacturing industry been carried to any extent. In the neighbourhood of Waterford "no shade of disturbance has existed, the peasantry having a steady market for their labour; whilst in parts of Cork, where the people are to a considerable degree unemployed, the most dangerous combinations against the laws, and the most violent attacks upon property, have lately taken place; and yet in those very districts your Committee have been informed on the authority of a civil engineer of eminence, ["that he very soon pacified the country by an extended employment of the people in opening a new line of road;"] the member who gave this information, adding from himself, "that if employment could be made sufficiently extensive, he doubted not that the turbulent habits of the population would be abandoned." When, in addition to these expressions of opinion, the improved condition and tranquillity of the north of Ireland, where the linen manufacture prevails, is contrasted with the wretchedness of the south, your Committee cannot refuse admitting the immediate connexion existing between *employment and peace*, as well as between *want of useful occupation and turbulence*.

"It is the opinion of your Committee, that there exists in the minds of the people a great anxiety for labour. The peasantry of the south and west quit their homes at particular times of

the year in search of employment. Mr. Nimmo, the civil engineer, when examined before the Committee of 1819, stated that many hundreds of the peasantry of Kerry had willingly hired themselves as labourers in the neighbouring county of Limerick at *fourpence a day*; and a member of the Committee has stated, "that he has known many of the peasantry of Kerry to quit their homes in search of employment, " offering to work for the merest subsistence that could be obtained, at the lowest possible rate of wages, for two-pence a day, in short for *ANY THING that would purchase food enough to keep them alive during the ensuing 24 hours.*' When able to obtain labour by contract, or by task, as it is called, the peasantry are frequently known to overwork themselves, in a manner injurious to their health! The inhabitants of those Peninsulas of the South West of Ireland, which are washed by the Atlantic, carry the sea ore and the calcareous sands of the coast many miles inland; and in some cases, where the mountains are steep, and roads have not as yet been opened, these manures are carried two or three miles inland on the backs of the peasantry. From these facts, your Committee have every reason to conclude, that so far from being uniformly inactive and idle, the peasantry of Ireland have a considerable anxiety to procure employment."

Such is the history of unhappy Ireland.

The Select Committee then informs us that, " amongst the various suggestions which have been laid before them, one from Mr. Robert Owen, of Lanark, has attracted so much of public attention, as to require particular notice. It has been so much canvassed in public, and has excited so much interest in Ireland, that your Committee have felt it their duty to inquire minutely into its details, and consider the tendency of the principles on which it is founded." The result of that minute inquiry has been condemnation. They " feel every disposition highly to estimate the effects of good education and early moral habits, but to conceive that any 'arrangement of circumstances' can altogether divest man of his passions and frailties,

as they comprehend principles in themselves undeniable, is a result which can never be anticipated."

Our business here is not to discuss the opinions of select Committees, but we ought not to quote such language as this, without briefly replying to it. Either the gentlemen of the Select Committee are *wholly ignorant* of Mr. OWEN's plans, or they *wilfully misrepresent them*. The grand feature of Mr. OWEN's plan, in a commercial point of view is, *that it abolishes the circumstance which now limits production, and gives to the producers the wealth that they create*. In this respect it has nothing to do with education or early moral habits. It has nothing to do with divesting man of his passions and frailties. It is simply the employment of mankind upon the principle of *co-operation*; and so necessary is it that man must be divested of his passions and frailties, before he can be so employed, that every individual, in every part of the united kingdom, who is in any way connected with the government of the country, is *now acting upon this principle!* and so great is the difference in the employment itself, that he does not even know that such a difference exists!!

It is totally impossible that any other principle than that of co-operation can furnish unlimited employment to all. Dreadful therefore as the reflection may be against the recurrence of such a calamity as the one we have just described, the unfortunate Irish have no protection, nor can they have any under the existing principles of commerce.

When we look at Ireland then, as now it is, there is nothing to excite our surprise, when we find in almost every weekly print accounts headed "Shocking Occurrence"—"Barbarous Murder"—"Diabolical Outrage," and so on. The only wonder is that there are not ten times the number of them.

We now approach an important part of our subject. In the early part of this Lecture (page 20) it was proved, that, by the present arrangements of society, the productive classes are deprived of very nearly four-fifths of the produce of their labour. Now we ask, what would be the condition of the lower orders of the community, of those men, who now,

from the want of employment, are driven to every act of desperation and wickedness, which human ingenuity can invent to support existence; of those men, who are compelled to solicit the charity of the affluent to keep them from starving, what, we say, would be the condition of the *then* lower orders, if means be devised to do—— what? something wonderful? prodigious? an Herculean labour? No! simply this, to enable the useful labourer to keep for his own use the property he creates; to enable him to exchange that part of the produce of his labour, which he does not require for his own use, for something else of *equal value*, for which he has an use, deducting only the portion NECESSARY to pay the expenses of Government, direction, superintendence and distribution? This is the reform we want; this is where reform must begin: no other can be worth a straw without it, and the first fruits of it would be that the labouring classes of the community would immediately find themselves in a better condition, in point of wealth, multipliable by human industry, than the better class of tradesmen now find themselves!! We assert, fearless of refutation, and regardless of the sneers of those who may be inclined to laugh at facts beyond the narrow limits of their comprehension, that the productive powers of labour in this country, have at this moment arrived at a state of such perfection, that every man in it, yes, the poorest wretch that crawls upon British ground, may immediately be enabled to command as great a portion of the necessaries and comforts of life, as the man could command in the year 1812, who, with a wife and family of ten individuals, including servants, possessed an income of 400*l.* To obtain which he would be required to employ himself in useful and moderate labour a few hours daily, which, so far from being a burthen, would invigorate him, and give him a relish for rational pleasures when the hours of business were over.

These are not the dreams of a heated imagination, they are plain, simple facts, clear as that one and one make two, proved to a demonstration. The income of each man, woman and child in the year before mentioned, was 1*l.* The produce of

their labour 54l. as they were then employed, usefully and uselessly, and in this calculation one quarter of the produce of the country is allowed for the expenses of government and management of business.

Now we would ask if it be possible to advance the labouring classes to this standard, and beyond a question it is not only possible, but a most easy task; what sort of a world should we then inhabit? Is it reasonable to suppose that we should then think it necessary to retire to our beds with weapons of defence near us, to protect us from the midnight depredator? Is it reasonable to suppose that our streets would then be filled with thieves, and our prisons overflowing with felons? Is it reasonable to suppose that any man would beg, or that any man would give to a beggar? In a word, is it reasonable to suppose that men would resort to every description of crime and violence, to obtain that wealth with great difficulty, and at the risk of their lives, which they could obtain without difficulty, in occupations which would serve them for amusement, whilst they surrounded them with wealth? We answer that the happiness of man is in his own hands, not individually, but collectively. We answer that the *division of the interests of men*, in their mode of employing capital and in the distribution of the produce of their labour, is the tremendous engine of mischief which is the curse of the human race, and the cause of almost every evil by which we are surrounded. We answer that *UNITY OF INTEREST would totally annihilate every thing resembling poverty, with its ten thousand consequences, which unite to deprive the human race of every thing worth possessing; and we further answer, so far from there being any insuperable difficulty in establishing this principle, that even now, NO COMBINATION OF HUMAN POWER CAN PREVENT, OR EVEN MATERIALLY RETARD ITS ESTABLISHMENT.*

COMPETITION THE LIMIT OF PRODUCTION.

After what we have stated, it may perhaps be supposed, that we have now made the most of our subject; that we have given the most favourable representation of the new views, which can, consistently with truth, be given of them. Far indeed, however, from the truth is such a supposition. So far from having painted the advantages of co-operation in the highest colours, we have as yet conveyed no just idea of them! It is certainly an important truth, that the principles we are advocating would have the effect of multiplying the incomes of the productive classes, by at least four; but important as this truth is, and great as the advantages are which would result from it, it is nothing to the truth which is yet to come; the advantages of which cannot be described.

We have hitherto given but a faint idea of the advantages which are within our reach. We now solicit attention to the most important truth that was ever submitted to the mind of man, as regards the affairs of this life: the truth which forms the basis of the prodigious and undescribable difference between the old and new system: a truth which cannot fail to open the eyes of all who understand it to an entirely new view of almost every circumstance by which we are surrounded.

If ever there was a circumstance calculated to produce universal astonishment; if ever there was a circumstance calculated to awaken a spirit of universal inquiry and investigation; if ever there was a circumstance calculated to arouse the energies of the whole human race, and to unite them in one common effort to free themselves from the miseries by which they are surrounded, it is this: "That whilst the inhabitants of this and other countries are wanting those necessaries and comforts of life, the liberal possession of which constitutes what we call wealth; whilst many obtain them very scantily, and with great difficulty, toil and anxiety; and whilst others are in the constant fear of having them wrested from them by circumstances beyond their controul; still it is undeniable, that

those very inhabitants, aided by the great mechanic power of which they are possessed, are capable of creating, by their own labour; all those necessities and comforts of life to an almost unlimited extent; certainly to an extent amply sufficient to supply the wants of every member of their respective communities!"

If this be true, and who can doubt it? it is certain that there is no reason in *nature*, why any man should be exposed to poverty or want. The reason why so many are poor, must therefore be sought for in the *institutions of society*, and this leads us to the important truth of which we have spoken, which is, that there now exists **AN UNNATURAL LIMIT TO PRODUCTION.**

The ostensible cause of poverty, amongst the able and industrious part of the community, is that men are either unable to obtain employment, or the wages which their labour will enable them to command, if they do obtain permission to toil, are insufficient to raise them above it. Now these apparent causes are effects; the former of this circumstance, that capital is now brought into *competition* with capital, instead of being brought to *act in conjunction* with it; by which, instead of its affording the *greatest* benefits to society, which it is capable of affording, it affords the *least* that it is possible for it to afford, if it be employed at all. And the latter evil arises from this circumstance, that the institutions of society are so constituted, that they deprive the productive classes of the *greatest* possible proportion of the produce of their labour, instead of depriving them, only of that *small* proportion of it, which in every state of society will be required to support the expenses of the direction and superintendence of business; the distribution of the produce of the labour of the country, and the expenses of government, it being evident that all persons thus employed, are unproductive labourers; or, in other words, although a *proper number of them* are useful and necessary members of society, still they do not, by their own labour, create any part of that which they consume; and must, in consequence, be supported by the industry of those who do, by their own labour, create wealth.

The former of these circumstances produces the *ne plus ultra* of wretchedness. The latter has only the more moderate tendency of consigning the most useful of our species to never ending toil and miserable anxiety. This we have already explained. We have shown that the institutions of society deprive the productive classes of four-fifths of the produce of their labour, and also how that portion is taken from them. We now proceed with that of capital being brought into competition with capital, instead of being brought to act in conjunction with it; the reason of which is, that in the present state of society, *the interests of men, in their mode of employing capital, and in the distribution of the produce of their labour, are at variance with each other*, and here we arrive at the fountain head of evil. It is this circumstance which has blinded the understanding of every age and of every nation. It is this circumstance which has filled the earth with wretchedness, and baffled every attempt to render mankind virtuous and happy, and it is only by the abolition of this circumstance, that poverty, with all its destructive consequences, can be banished from the world.

We will now endeavour to explain this unnatural limit to production.

There must ever be two natural limits to the annual income of the country, or, in other words, to the quantity of wealth annually created by the labour of the people, viz. *the exhaustion of our productive powers, and the satisfaction of our wants*.

The truth of this must be evident. In the former instance it is certain that if the *whole* industry of the country were called into action, and that industry aided by the greatest mechanic power of which we have any knowledge, the wealth of the country would have reached the *greatest* extent that it could reach at any given period. And it is also certain that if we were in possession of as much wealth as we desired, we should not trouble ourselves to create more.

And it would be well for us if there existed no other limit to production, than these two natural ones: but, unfortunately

nately we have established a **THIRD**, and this third limit is **COMPETITION**. We will now endeavour to shew that competition is the limit to production.

1st. In the present state of society production is limited by *demand*.

The consumers of goods usually apply for them to the retail venders of them, and the quantity of goods which a retail tradesman buys, is invariably regulated by the quantity he expects to sell, in other words by the quantity he expects a *demand for* in his shop. In the manufacturing of goods, men are invariably regulated by the same principle. It never enters into the calculations of manufacturers how much cloth would be required to supply the wants of mankind. It never forms any part of their business to ascertain how many coats the whole population ought to be supplied with in the course of a year, and how much cloth would be required to make them: neither do they ask themselves how much cloth they have the power of making. All they ask, all they require to know, is *how much cloth they can dispose of at a profit*; how much will stock the shops and warehouses of their customers: in other words, how much it is probable there will be *demand for*. It is this, and this alone, which regulates production. When more is produced than there is demand for, the market is said to be overstocked; and when there is less produced than there is a demand for, the market is said to be understocked; without the least regard either to the satisfaction of our wants, or to the extent of our powers of production.

2nd. If then production is limited by demand, the next enquiry that arises is, "by what is demand regulated?"

We reply that demand is composed of the *aggregate quantity of wealth*, which the labour, the services, and the property, of the whole community will command; which aggregate is composed of *the quantities*, which the labour, the services, or the property of individuals enable them to command.

This is almost self evident, for it must be plain to all, that no person, dependent solely on his labour for subsistence, can

obtain more wealth than his labour will purchase ; that no tradesman, nor other unproductive member of society, who depends solely on his personal or mental exertions for support, can obtain more wealth than his services will enable him to purchase ; and that no independent member of society can obtain more wealth than his property will command.

Demand, therefore, it is obvious, is compound of the collective quantity of wealth, which the labour of the productive classes, the services of the dependent unproductive classes, and the property of the independent classes will command. The only question that remains, then, is, what is it that limits the quantity obtained by each individual ? We reply,

3rd. That the quantity of wealth which the labour, the services, or the property, of individuals enable them to command, is limited by COMPETITION between man and man.

It is *competition* which fixes the quantity of wealth obtained by the productive classes. Such of them as are unable to obtain employment, being still candidates for employment, will ever, under a system of individual competition, have the effect of keeping down the quantity obtained by the mass, to that portion which is *just sufficient* to support bodily strength and to continue their race ; and if they hope ever to rise above this standard, whilst commerce is conducted upon its present principles, they hope for that which they never can obtain for any considerable length of time together.

It is *competition* which fixes the quantity of wealth obtained by the trading classes. Every tradesman is rich or poor in proportion as his exertions in business enable him to command a liberal or scanty supply of the comforts and enjoyments of life, and this is invariably regulated by the largeness or smallness of the profits which he is enabled to obtain by the sale of goods. To prove that profits are limited by competition, scarcely requires any argument ; a conclusive one however will be, that if tradesmen uniformly sold goods at cost price, they would obtain no income at all, and the more they compete with each other, the nearer to cost price each is compelled to accept for them.

And if we pass on to those persons whose incomes are derived from the rent of houses, and from the interest of money: in the letting of their houses and money, they become men of business, and the quantity of wealth which they are enabled to obtain for their use, is also limited by competition.

Thus competition limits the quantity of wealth obtained by individuals: The quantity obtained by individuals collectively, composes the aggregate quantity obtained by the whole community: This aggregate quantity forms the demand, and demand limits production.

When this subject is clearly understood, it will be seen by all that the exhaustion of our productive powers, and the satisfaction of our wants, are the *only natural limits* to production.

That, so long as capital shall continue to be employed in competition with capital, instead of in conjunction with it, we shall never be enabled either to exhaust our productive powers, or to satisfy our wants, because production must ever be limited to the quantity which the labour, the services, and the property of the community will command.

That the quantity of wealth which the labouring classes receive, is the *least* that their labour can be purchased for. That the reason why a working man does not obtain twice the quantity he obtains at present is, because if he, an individual, were to demand it, and refuse to work for a less quantity, he would be thrown out of employment altogether, by another individual offering to do the same work for the quantity now given—in other words, by another individual *competing* with him.

That the quantity of wealth which the trading classes receive is the *least* that their services can be purchased for. That the reason why a tradesman does not obtain twice the quantity he obtains at present, is because, if he, an individual, were to demand it, that is, demand double the profit on the goods he sells, and refuse to sell them for a less profit, he would lose his trade altogether, by another individual offering to the public the same kind of goods at the profit now

obtained ; in other words, by another individual *competing* with him.

That the quantity of wealth which the proprietors of money and of houses receive is the *least* that their houses and money can be borrowed for. That the reason why a Capitalist of this kind does not obtain twice the quantity he obtains at present, is because, if he, an individual, were to demand it, that is demand double the rent for his houses, or double the interest for his money, and refuse to lend them for a less remuneration, he would be prevented from lending them at all, by another individual offering to lend houses and money for the remuneration now obtained ; in other words, by another individual *competing* with him.

That, therefore, the income of EVERY INDIVIDUAL, and consequently of the WHOLE COMMUNITY, except only those persons who have fixed money incomes, is LIMITED BY COMPETITION, and that each obtains the LEAST that his labour, his services, or the use of his property CAN POSSIBLY BE OBTAINED FOR.

That in consequence of all being thus compelled by competition to put up with a very *limited supply* of the conveniencies and enjoyments of life, (limited indeed when compared with our means of producing more) A DEMAND FOR LUXURIES CANNOT POSSIBLY INCREASE IN PROPORTION AS WE POSSESS AN INCREASED POWER OF PRODUCING NECES-SARIES.

That on the contrary, in exact proportion as our *power of creating* wealth increases, it will be obtained with *increased difficulty* ; because, in consequence of the ability of the FEW to produce all that competition will allow the MANY to consume, competition will be still further increased by the increased struggle to obtain employment.

That the collective quantity of food, clothing, habitation, furniture, and other articles of convenience and luxury which all classes of society are thus permitted by competition to obtain, forms the present *unnatural demand for produce* ;

because, whenever a Capitalist, overlooking or miscalculating the extent of this demand, brings a supply of any article into the market *exceeding* it; that is exceeding the quantity which competition has compelled the several members of society to accept as a remuneration for their labour, their services, or their property, he is compelled to reduce the money price of such article, and thereby *lose* by a speculation, which was entered upon for purposes of gain.

COMPETITION, THEREFORE, IN THE PRESENT STATE OF SOCIETY, IS THE LIMIT OF PRODUCTION, BECAUSE CAPITALISTS NEVER DID AND NEVER WILL HABITUALLY PRODUCE GOODS TO SELL AT A LOSS; WHICH WOULD INEVITABLY BE THE CASE, WERE THEY TO PRODUCE SUFFICIENT, EITHER TO SUPPLY OUR WANTS OR TO EXHAUST OUR PRODUCTIVE POWERS.

No matter therefore, under a system of individual competition, how poor labourers may be; no matter how difficult for tradesmen and manufacturers to keep their affairs together; no matter how difficult for landlords to obtain their rents; no matter what quantity of wealth a people may have the *power of creating*; if their industry aided by their mechanic, and other powers of production, be equal to the enriching of the universe, the quantity they *will create* cannot habitually exceed the quantity which competition allows them to consume; though that quantity may be far from sufficient to supply their own wants.

Such is actually the condition of Great Britain at the present time. Its inhabitants are in possession of powers by which they can create wealth without any known limits, and yet one half of them are in a state of actual poverty.

In all societies wherein there is competition, a number of persons are at all times out of employment. When a labourer finds himself in this situation, his natural enquiry is, how must I live? The parish allowance presents itself on the one hand, and to transplant the labourers who are employed on the other. The parish allowance affords only a bare existence. The labourers employed are perhaps receiving liberal wages.

Naturally then he makes an application for employment at reduced wages: the never-failing consequence of which is, that the incomes of the productive classes are reduced to the lowest ebb, viz.: to that which is sufficient to support life, and continue their race.

The same argument applies with equal force to the trading classes. When it appears that any one is carrying on business to great advantage, a competitor rises up and opposes him. A mutual effort to undersell follows, and both are obliged to reduce their expenditure: to confine themselves to the necessities of life, at least to taste but little of its pleasures and enjoyments. And thus mankind, capable of surrounding themselves by their own labour, with every thing that can contribute to the enjoyment of life, are doomed by competition to perpetual toil for the reward of a slavish existence!

There is yet one more observation to make on this subject. We are for ever being told, that we have already more produce than we want. Strange and foolish error! Let those who entertain such a thought understand their own words. They *say*, we have more produce than we *want*. They *mean*, we have more produce than there is a *demand for*. When every human being has every thing his heart can wish, then, and not till then, we shall have as much produce as we want. But dreadful is the contrast to this in society as it now is. Go see your wretched fellow-creatures, of which there are thousands in this country, hungry, houseless and in rags, and enquire of them, whether THEY have a superabundance of wealth! Go to your manufacturing towns, and see the wretched producers of your wealth, ye who roll in luxurious profusion, ask of them, whether THEY have more than they have need of; and blush when ye tell us of superabundance! We have frequently more produce than we have a demand for—a great deal more: but demand is limited by competition: abolish IT, and demand shall be equal to production though it be increased a thousand fold!

It is competition then, and nothing but competition, which limits the annual income of the country. From this arises

poverty, by which man is driven to acts of desperation for the commission of which, poverty, by introducing him into a world of wretchedness, and surrounding him from his infancy with vicious circumstances, has prepared his mind. And as competition necessarily arises from the division of the interests of men in the employment of capital, and in the distribution of the produce of labour, it is certain that nothing less than an *entire change* in the commercial arrangements of society can be productive of any essential benefit to mankind.

Now here we would, as it were, make a full stop, and appeal to the judgment of every rational being whether this be true. We would enquire alike of every class, of every sect, of every party, whether it be true, that competition in the employment of capital is the circumstance which limits production! Is it not true, that the enjoyments of life are produced by human labour? Is it not true, that there must ever be two natural limits to those enjoyments, viz.: the exhaustion of our productive powers, and the satisfaction of our wants? Is it not true, that with these limits we have at present nothing to do? Have not the institutions of society raised up a third limit? and is not the name of it competition? And if this be true, was there ever a truth of so much importance to the commercial interests of society? Is not the attainment of wealth the object of commerce? Is it not the great business of us all, or at least of most of us! Are we not panting after it with eager anxiety, and are not the chief energies, both of our bodies and of our minds devoted to the pursuit of it? Let us then abolish this third limit to production, and *everything that deserves the name of wealth shall instantly become accessible to all*: for we should then have as much wealth as we have the POWER OF CREATING!!! Measure it who can: it is impossible; for every week, every *Mechanics' Magazine* is pouring forth some new invention, which, under the NEW SYSTEM, would become an advantage equal to the labour it would save.

But can this limit be abolished? We answer, it can be done at any time, without the slightest difficulty, without the

slightest violence, without the slightest real injury to a single individual.

The governors of this country could abolish it at home in a few years, and with it all the miseries of poverty. The governors of this country ought to do this, for human misery and blood, and crimes unnumbered are the cost of its continuance. They might as well effect this mighty change: they might as well have, what they would term, the merit of setting an example to all the civilized world, which would be followed with an unexampled rapidity: for the governors of this country *cannot prevent it from being done*. They cannot, as rational men, have a wish to prevent it, but if they had, they might as well attempt to take the sun in one hand and the moon in the other: and if they do not do it, and that immediately too, individuals will.

The day is fast approaching, when the sun of truth shall shed his rays amongst those countless thousands, who endure their chains with patience now, because they know not whence they come, nor how they can be free; and because, as all exist in bondage, each in his brother sees a fellow slave, and cries, alas! "it is the lot of man." But show them freedom; give them but a sight of human bliss, tell them it is within the reach of all, and prove it so; they will no longer live in slavery, nor bear their chains at all. That sun has not yet risen; but his rays are just appearing: twilight has appeared, and ere a term of twenty years shall pass, its mighty influence shall bring on man a greater change than man has yet beheld!

Upon the whole then we have endeavoured to exhibit society as it now is. We have endeavoured to show by whom wealth is created, and by whom it is consumed. We have endeavoured to show that it is from human labour that every description of wealth proceeds; that the productive classes DO NOW support, not only themselves, but every unproductive member of society! that *they only* are productive members of society who apply *their own hands* either to

the cultivation of the earth itself, or to the preparing or appropriating the produce of the earth to the uses of life; that every individual not so employed, is a direct tax upon those who are so employed; that, (to say nothing of the numerous and expensive class of persons, who have not even the pretension to utility in any way whatever,) all merchants, manufacturers, wholesale and retail tradesmen, together with their clerks, assistants, and shopmen, are either directors and superintendants of production, or mere distributors of wealth, who are paid by the labour of those who create it; and that such persons are useful only in a *sufficient number*, so to direct and superintend labour, and to distribute its produce.

We have endeavoured to show that the real income of the country, which consists in the quantity of wealth annually created by the labour of the people, is taken from its producers, chiefly, by the rent of land, by the rent of houses, by the interest of money, and by the profit obtained by persons who buy their labour from them at one price, and sell it at another; that these immense taxes of rent, interest and profits on labour, must even continue while the system of individual competition stands; that in the new communities ALL would be productive members of society; excepting only the persons *absolutely required* in unproductive occupations, who would also devote their time and talents to the general good, and that NO ONE would be taxed either with rent, interest, or profit on his labour.

And we think it must be plain to all, that they, who are now supporting themselves in poverty; the middling classes in decency; and the higher classes in luxury, may, by much less labour *applied exclusively to their own advantage*, surround themselves with every comfort, and for ever bid adieu even to the most distant apprehension of want or poverty; as it is certain that by thus acting they will not only be gainers of all that is now appropriated to the use of those who do nothing towards the production of that which they consume, but that

they will be enabled to remove, that greatest of all human errors, the *limit of production*.

In this consists the power and practicability of our system ; its power, by advancing the producers of wealth to a condition in life incomparably superior to that which they can obtain by any other means ; by affording them for little labour, and no anxiety, five times the advantages they now obtain with immoderate labour and unceasing anxiety. This will *induce* every labouring and poor man to join our communities ; need we add that all other classes, from the highest to the lowest, will be *compelled* to follow their example. And its practicability, in the perfect ease with which even a small sum may be so applied as to put that power in action, which, when fairly exhibited, even on a small scale, for the reasons we have stated, nothing can resist.

Clearly then the institutions of society are wretchedly unfit for the purpose for which they are intended. Their object is to promote the happiness of man ; their effect is to perpetuate his misery.

If we have been considered, in some instances, severe, we regret it, but it is a subject which calls for a fearless exposure, and it will ever meet with it from us. We value the goodwill of our fellow men ; but we place a much higher value on the cause of truth and of human prosperity.

In a future Lecture we shall endeavour to explain another set of arrangements on the basis of a national capital, by the introduction of which the only limits to our wealth would be the exhaustion of our productive powers, and the satisfaction of our wants.

The plans to which we allude, are altogether different from those proposed by Mr. OWEN, and we willingly admit, that they are altogether inferior to them ; but we entertain a hope that they will be useful in proving to the world, that unity of interest is in every way consistent with individuality and distinctions of property, and at a period like the present, when we hesitate not to say, that society is on the eve of relinquish-

ing for ever the commercial principles on which it has hitherto acted ; we think that too many modifications of the same fundamental principles cannot be laid before the public ; for out of each something advantageous may perhaps be selected.

END OF THE FIRST LECTURE.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

DRAWN UP AND RECOMMENDED BY THE

London Co-Operative Society,

FOR THE

FORMATION OF A COMMUNITY

ON PRINCIPLES OF

MUTUAL CO-OPERATION.

1825.

ARTICLES, &c.

I.

REASONS AND PRINCIPLES.

WHEREAS HAPPINESS is the true object of human exertions, and the real and permanent improvement of Society must be founded on the happiness of its individual members; WHEREAS the knowledge and happiness of its members will necessarily induce and perpetuate the most free and beneficial public institutions; WHEREAS the splendid advances daily taking place in the mechanical and chemical Sciences, and the arts of life, however productive of increased activity and glory, must remain unproductive of their only rational object, increased happiness to mankind, until corresponding advances shall have been made in moral and social science; WHEREAS the present arrangements in the most favoured regions of civilized society, far from providing for *the whole*, do not provide even for the *greater portion* of its members, the comforts and conveniences of life necessary to health and enjoyment; WHEREAS, on the contrary, in the present state of society, Misery, Vice, and Crime, form a frightful and astounding aggregate, when compared with the means, which we believe we possess, of removing them and providing for the comforts, conveniences, and improvement of *all*; WHEREAS these evils appear to us to originate for the most part in the system of Individual Competition and Private Accumulation, with the endless restraints and penalties, legal and social, to which they give birth, stimulating men to acquire wealth by any means, though at the expense of the labour, the happiness, and even the lives, of their fellow-creatures; WHEREAS almost all the pernicious passions, vices, and crimes, of society proceed from the *excessive inequality of wealth* (the inevitable effect of such Individual Competition) which entails want, ignorance, envy, anxieties, frauds, thefts, and all the other evils of poverty, on nine-tenths of mankind, and avarice,

oppression, idleness, *ennui*, selfish sensuality, with all the evils of inactive repletion on the other tenth, leaving to almost none a relish for intellectual and social pleasures, founded on the tranquil and secure enjoyment of real comforts, appreciated at their real value, their power to produce happiness, compared with the trouble of producing them ; WHEREAS it is well ascertained that a competent number of industrious individuals can supply in abundance all the necessaries and comforts of life to each other; and WHEREAS it appears to us that in lieu of the existing system of Individual Competition, a system of Mutual Co-operation in the production of wealth, and of equality in its distribution, would remove the greater portion of the evils under which Society at present labours ;

We, the undersigned, for these reasons engage with each other to form, within fifty miles of London, an Association of Mutual Co-operation, Community of Property, and Equal Means of Enjoyment.

II.

GOVERNMENT.

The object of the association being to promote, impartially, the greatest happiness of all its individual members, it will be essentially *self-governed* ; all its internal regulations will be formed, and its proceedings conducted, by the adult members themselves, or by committees, or individuals of their appointment, periodically reporting, and periodically renewed. The period of adult age will be determined by the community.

We engage to abide in all cases by the votes of the majority ; but the majority engage never to require the concurrence of the minority in any measures but those in which the interests of the majority are incompatible with the gratification of the wishes of the minority. The majority must always consist of more than half of the adult members, men and women, of the whole association, or of its committees. But the Community will delegate no power of judging or acting to any individual or committee, which it can itself exercise without preponderant evil of delay, vexation, or expense. All its deliberative proceedings will

be transacted at regular weekly, or other public meetings, of all the adult members. The use of these meetings, will be to excite and preserve an universal interest in the public (the aggregate of the individual) affairs of the Community ; to keep alive the sympathy of all with all ; to inform, exercise, and improve, the intellectual faculties of all on the most interesting subjects, and to afford an efficient preventive to all abuses and misgovernment ; as well as to lead to the discovery of new truths useful to all, and to diffuse such truths, particularly on subjects of social arrangement, through society at large.— Every facility, consistent with the interests of the Co-operators, shall also be afforded to the public at large, to investigate our arrangements, and to attend our public discussions.

The developement of Truth being progressive, and views of utility depending on increased knowledge, any of these articles, formed with a view of creating and giving life to a community, may at any time hereafter, when such community shall have been formed and in full action, be amended or changed by such majority of the community, as above described ; those articles only excepted, which imply a Contract still unfulfilled by either of the contracting parties.

III.

PRESERVATION OF HARMONY.

We hereby agree that such misunderstandings as may arise between the members of the Community, shall be settled *within* the Community by such mode of amicable arrangement as may be hereafter appointed.

IV.

RIGHT OF PRIVATE JUDGMENT.

We guarantee to each other, individual freedom of opinion on all subjects of human knowledge or speculation, moral or physical, particularly on subjects of religion ; and we will respect the individual inclinations of each other in all cases not incompatible with the general welfare.

V.

USE OF PUBLIC HALLS.

Any number of adult members exceeding thirty, shall be entitled to the exclusive use of the public rooms three hours a week, for religious or any other social purposes, on giving intimation of such wish in the proper quarter to be hereafter specified.

VI.

POWER OF WITHDRAWING AND DISMISSING.

We guarantee to each other liberty to leave the Community when we please; and we yield to the Community the self-protecting power of renouncing, at its pleasure, the co-operation of any individual; but the retiring members shall receive in all cases the sum paid on entrance, or have the opportunity of disposing of their shares to any equal number of persons approved of by the Community.

VII.

GENERAL INTERCOURSE WITH SOCIETY.

We will afford, under regulations to be hereafter determined, pecuniary and other facilities for communication with external society, and for travelling; and we will allow such time to the members for these purposes, as shall be compatible with the interest of the community, and the pleasure of the individuals: ample provision shall also be made for the accommodation of the visiting friends of the members.

VIII.

RIGHTS OF WOMEN.

To women, forming half the human race, equally capable with men of contributing to the common happiness, and equally capable of individual enjoyment, we guarantee eligibility equally with men, to every situation within the Community, to which their individual talents and inclinations may adapt them. We also guarantee to them equal means of acquiring knowledge and social pleasures, and of individual freedom of opinion, as well as an equality of property, and of the physical means of enjoyment, with men.

IX.

CO-OPERATION OF WOMEN.

To secure to the Community the efficient co-operation of one half of its adult members, women; to afford them an opportunity of acquiring equal respect and sympathy, by means of equal usefulness, with men; and to give them equal facilities with men, of social intercourse and of acquiring knowledge; we guarantee to them freedom from the domestic drudgery of cooking, washing, and of heating apartments, which will be performed on scientific principles on a large economical scale, for the whole Community.

X.

YOUNG CHILDREN.

We also, with the same views, guarantee to parents, the use of healthful and agreeable *dormitories*, classified, for their infants and children of all ages, from two months old, with arrangements for the best developement of their mental and physical powers; experience having proved that the union and intercourse of large numbers of children of nearly the same age, are essential to this end. These advantages however will be optional to the parents, the children being at all times accessible to their visits and subject to their superintendence. To voluntary agents, part of the Community in rotation, aided by the kindly offices of the parents, the care of the children of all ages will be entrusted.

XI.

ORPHANS.

We guarantee to each other that the young children of any person dying within the Community shall be equally protected, educated, and cherished with the children of the living members, and entitled, when they become adult, to all the advantages and equal proprietorship thereof. In this Community, no children can be reduced to the destitution of orphans in the present state of society.

XII.

EDUCATION.

To all the children entering the Community, or born within it, we guarantee the best physical and intellectual

education that the present state of human knowledge affords, *an advantage for which our peculiar arrangements afford facilities not to be obtained by any exertion of toil, or sacrifice of wealth, in the present state of Society.* To maintain uninterrupted health during the longest possible life, and to render that life the most happy, diversified by all the innocent pleasures of sense, of active exertion, of knowledge, of sympathy, and mutual beneficence, with every variety and combination of these enjoyments, will be the great objects of the general education of the whole Community. The *mode* of education, combining always practice with theory, the Community will hereafter determine. To individual parents, and those teachers in whom they confide, the teaching of their peculiar religious tenets is assured: with religious instruction the general teachers are forbidden to interfere.

XIII.

GENERAL EMPLOYMENT.

Of whatever arts or talents we may be individually possessed, whether mental or muscular, agricultural or manufacturing, we engage to devote them to the common benefit, as well by their immediate exercise, as by communicating our skill or knowledge to each other, in whatever way the community may hereafter deem most conducive to the happiness of the whole, whether by mental, or healthful and agreeable manual operations, of use or ornament, or by alternations of these: the time of co-operative employment shall not exceed eight hours in the day, except by individual assent. It is, however, confidently expected, that when the arrangements shall be in full operation, the number of hours of labour necessary to production may be considerably reduced.

XIV.

VARIETY OF EMPLOYMENT.

We also all engage to learn by mutual instruction some branches of agricultural, orchard, or gardening industry; and every agriculturist engages to learn some branch of manufacturing industry.

XV.**DOMESTIC SERVICES.**

All useful services, called menial, and all others to which unpleasant associations are attached, will be performed (in want of volunteers by rotation, or otherwise, from amongst the adult members,) by the youth of the Community, or such portion of them, by rotation, or choice, between ten and seventeen years of age, as may be necessary for the due performance thereof.

Such services being public and general, will not be liable to individual authority or controul; they will be freely given, and courteously received; they will not be rendered repulsive to the minds of youth by any false associations, but will serve them as the means of commanding the sympathy of the adult members, for whose comfort those services will be performed; they will increase the self-respect of the youth, from the consciousness of their useful Co-operation for the common benefit, will serve them to repay the adult members for the support and education previously conferred upon them, and will introduce them to the pleasures of independent exertion and co-operative industry amongst those whose companions and equals they look forward to become. To themselves, also, when adults will similar services be rendered by the rising and ever-varying youth of the community.

XVI.**ALL OCCUPATIONS VOLUNTARY.**

No member will be required to follow any employment injurious to his or her health or unpleasant to his or her feelings for never so short a time, the occupations of the Community being sufficiently numerous to give free choice of employment to all. All unhealthy or repulsive occupations that cannot by machinery, chemical, or other scientific means be performed, or so modified as to be rendered no longer unpleasant, or that cannot be reconciled to health and comfort by succession of operations for a limited time, or by the volunteer efforts of particular individuals, shall be altogether banished from the Community.

XVII.

ATTRACTIONS TO INDUSTRY.

Every possible means shall be employed to render *attractive* to the Members, every species of co-operative exertion, muscular or mental ;—as by the beauty and ornaments of the grounds and working halls, by the society of intelligent and benevolent co-operators pursuing a common interest ; by the facility and variety of occupations, no one occupation continuing, except by choice, for more than two or three successive hours ; by the variety of intervening meals, social or scientific amusements ; and by ample leisure, afforded daily to every individual for private pursuits of friendship or affection, amusement, literary or otherwise, in or out of doors, and by all such other means as the experience and increasing knowledge of the Community may suggest.

XVIII.

AMUSEMENTS.

To increase to the utmost the happiness of those unemployed hours of every day, which are not devoted to co-operative exertion, every possible facility will be afforded to the enjoyment of all social and individual pleasures of the senses, intellect, or sympathy, not followed in their consequences with preponderant evil ; as by the establishment within the community, for the use of all its members, of an extensive library, museum, and theatre for the fine arts, by supplying ourselves with the best chemical, and other philosophical apparatus, and by encouraging weekly, or other periodical debates, lectures, and conversations on all subjects calculated to afford pleasure to the Co-operators.

Any member inclined to employ any part of his or her leisure hours in the amusement of fabricating any article of elegance, curiosity, or use, shall be entitled to draw from the common store of the community the raw materials requisite for such operations, returning from the produce of such employment the value of such materials, whether in the raw or manufactured state.

Every member of the community, is entitled to report

at the periodical public meetings, whatever arrangements he or she may deem conducive to the increase of the enjoyment of such leisure hours.

XIX.

FINE ARTS.

Any member wishing to devote the whole, or any portion of the hours of daily mutual co-operation to painting, engraving, sculpture, music, or any other branch of the Fine Arts, for the use, embellishment or amusement of the Community; or, for the general advancement of the study of nature, mineral, vegetable or animal, or of chemistry, mechanics, or any other species of intellectual pursuit, may apply for the approbation of the community or committee, (as may be hereafter appointed,) so to devote the whole or any portion of his or her time, with full assurance of cordial encouragement in every useful pursuit.

XX.

LAND.

For every individual, young or old, to be associated in this Community, (the number of which we propose to be 2,000,) we will purchase one acre of good land, fee-simple, and, if possible, tithe free, and land tax redeemed; the most indispensable object of our Association being to provide, by our mutual exertions, all the materials of food, clothing, and dwellings, necessary to perfect health and length of life. This land we will lay out and cultivate with the threefold view to health, abundant produce, and embellishment.

XXI.

BUILDINGS.

We will erect, by the labour of the Associates, on the most convenient scites of our land, or will pay for the erection of, suitable dwellings, agricultural and manufacturing offices, public halls for meals, science, amusements, care of the sick, and all other objects deemed useful; and we will make, by associate mechanics and engineers, or will purchase, the best machinery, to abridge and facilitate labour, and to render it in every department compatible with health.

XXII.

PRIVATE APARTMENTS

To secure individual freedom of opinion and action, (one of the most essential constituents of human happiness,) every adult, man or woman, married or single, will ultimately be provided with two private rooms each, a sitting room and a bed room, of which each occupant will have the entire controul, for retirement, study, or amusement, as well as equal use of all the public halls, grounds, and accommodations of every sort, possessed by the Community.

XXIII.

MANUFACTURES.

We will practise all arts and manufactures conducive to immediate comfort, and particularly those the materials of which are capable of being advantageously produced on the land of the Community

XXIV.

EXCHANGEABLE COMMODITIES.

We will also practise, according to the situation and conveniences of our land, some particular branch or branches of industry, manufacturing or agricultural, suitable to the demands of general society, and to the acquired habits of industry of the members, for the supply, by means of exchange, of such other articles of comfort or of elegance, the use of which may afford sufficient pleasure to repay the trouble of production, and which cannot economically be produced at home, as well as to discharge the contributions falling upon us as members of general society.

XXV.

PRINCIPLE OF EXCHANGE.

We renounce all the advantages, or, as we esteem them, all the evils, of trafficking, or mere commerce; we renounce *profit*, which implies living on the labour of others; all our exchanges being proposed to be for fair equivalents, representing equal labour, and destined for immediate or gradual consumption, and not for accumulation, to command the labour of other communities, or of individuals of general Society. Muscular and mental activity, or both, are essen-

tial to health : the miseries and vices of idleness, we are determined to avoid. We will not therefore become a trading and accumulating, but will be, and remain, a producing and enjoying Community ; living always on our own united exertions, aided by exchanges for the increase of our enjoyments. All our fellow-creatures require, and are equally with ourselves entitled to, the use of the whole of the products of their exertions, for their own happiness. Whatever accumulations we may make, will be with a view of providing against want from unfavourable seasons or other casualties, or of affording ourselves continually increasing comforts, or of aiding our children or others of general society, in the formation of new communities happy as we hope to be. As we have associated together to avoid, in the first instance, the evils of *individual* competition, so do we foresee and renounce the evils of *collective* competition, either with other communities or with individuals, excepting so far as will be unavoidable by the sale of our surplus produce ; and even this competition we will gradually abandon, so soon as other communities shall be established who may be willing to make direct exchanges with us upon the equitable principle of equal quantities of labour.

XXVI.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCE.

Food, clothing, and furniture, will be furnished equally to all the members from the general stores and kitchens, by regulations to be hereafter agreed upon. Meals may be taken at the public halls or in private apartments, at the option of the individual members.

XXVII.

HEALTH.

Though under rational arrangements, where interest and duty are made to walk hand in hand, the now neglected *art of preserving health*, will to a great extent supersede the *trade of curing diseases*, the abundance of which becomes the interest of those who live by attending upon them ; yet casualties will occur. Therefore, against the *avoidable* evils incidental to sickness, child-bearing, old age,

and all other physical casualties to which individuals may be still exposed, we mutually guarantee each other. In rooms arranged by all the aids of science, guided by benevolence, or at the option of the patients in their private rooms, those members of the community whose peculiar voluntary study and occupation it will be to preserve the health of the members unimpaired, and mitigate the evils of unavoidable disease, will devote their skill and anxiety to the speedy convalescence of the afflicted. To alleviate the evils of disease, (the object next in importance to the preservation of uninterrupted health,) the community will spare no effort or expense, every member, more particularly the guardians of the public health, being directly interested in the health and well-being of every other member; as the common produce of the means of happiness must be *necessarily lessened* by the abstraction of the productive powers of any individual. With the afflicted and aged, the whole Community will sympathize, as well from remembrance of past as from anticipation of future reciprocal services, and from the calm and sweet security of similar solace to themselves under similar calamities. The whole Community will be the guardians and nurses of the afflicted; particular superintendence being either voluntary or by rotation. As we are insurers to each other for the attainment of the greatest quantity of every species of happiness, so are we also insurers to each other against the approach, or for the mitigation, of every evil.

XXVIII.

SHARES.

To accomplish these objects, we admit three classes of Subscribers—those of 100l., those of 40l., and those of 10l. each, all payable by instalments at intervals of not less than six months.

XXIX.

SHAREHOLDERS OF £100.

First—Those subscribing £100 each, will not be called on to enter the Community till all the buildings and arrangements are completed. For a child under ten years of age

half this sum, or £50, will be received. Any individual may subscribe any number of shares of £100 each: the deposit on the whole of which shares is not required to exceed £10.

Capitalists advancing many shares and not occupying more than two rooms, will be entitled to Interest at 5 per cent. on all shares above one, until paid off by the Community; but the interest will cease on any shares transferred to new members, or to boarders in the Community. Any Subscriber of £100 not wishing to join in the occupations of the Community, may, by a yearly payment, (to be hereafter fixed by the Community) partake of all the benefits thereof, except *voting* at the public meetings; or by paying half the sum so fixed, he may be exempted from half the daily occupations.

XXX.

SHAREHOLDERS OF £40.

Second. Those subscribing 40l. each, will not be called on to join the Community till the first year's crop is raised and a bed-room provided for each.—Children under ten years of age, 20l. each.

XXXI.

SHAREHOLDERS OF £10.

Third.--Those subscribing 10l. each, are to join the Community as soon as the land is purchased and ready to receive them: they engage, with the aid of appropriate committees and scientific members of the Community, to prepare the first crops and build the first houses, receiving merely food and dwelling for the first six or eight months, till the produce of their own labour, under the proposed arrangements, affords them additional comforts.

XXXII.

DEPOSITS.

A deposit of 3l. will be required from the subscriber of 100l.; of 2l. from the subscriber of 40l.; and of 1l. from the subscriber of 10l.: to be paid at the banking-house of * No part of these deposits to be used by the London Co-operative Society, or any other persons but the future Community itself, for any purpose whatever. All deposits shall be returned if the land be not purchased in three years.

* Not fixed on when this went to Press.

XXXIII.

SHAREHOLDERS BY ELECTION.

Should the three above classes of subscribers not produce the number of co-operators necessary to form the Community, such intelligent persons of approved character as are skilled in some branch of manufacturing, or agricultural industry, and recommended by any individual of the above three classes of subscribers, will be admitted into the Community on paying 11. each, on the same terms with the third class of subscribers, and sending their names and qualifications through the Secretary of the Co-operative Society, or otherwise, to the Committee of the Community.

XXXIV.

EXTRA LABOUR FOR SHARES.

When the Community shall have been formed, any persons accommodated with Shares by Capitalists, and approved of by the Community, or any industrious person whom the Community may wish to serve, may apply the produce of all their labour over and above the hours of daily co-operation, towards the liquidation of the price of the Shares, with which they may be accommodated; the Community advancing them at first cost the materials of their industry.

XXXV.

NUCLEUS OF THE COMMUNITY.

As soon as 20,000l. are subscribed, a public meeting of the subscribers will be called by advertisement, by the London Co-operative Society; and this nucleus of the Community will take into their own hands the regulation of their affairs.

XXXVI.

INDIVIDUAL SIGNATURES.

Individual happiness being the object of the Association, and the voluntary co-operation of women being as necessary as that of men for its success, every woman joining the Association, married or not, must individually assent to, and sign these articles.

In testimony of our agreement to the above articles, and our determination to carry them into effect, we herewith annex our names with our occupations and address.

* * Letters and Communications to be addressed to Mr. James Corss, Honorary Secretary to the London Co-operative Society, at Messrs. Wheatley and Adlard's, Booksellers, 108, Strand, London.

